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Security Council
Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3702nd Meeting
Thursday, 10 October 1996, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Martínez Blanco	(Honduras)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Merafhe
	Chile	Mr. Larraín
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Cabral
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1996/827)

Letter dated 7 October 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/832)

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

Welcome to Foreign Minister

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like, at the outset of this meeting, to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of the Minister for Foreign of Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Mompati S. Merafhe. On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to him.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1996/827)

Letter dated 7 October 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/832)

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, India, Ireland, Malawi, Malaysia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Portugal, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Moura (Angola), Mr. Simão (Mozambique) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe), took seats at the Council table; Mr. Baali (Algeria), Mr. Amorim (Brazil), Mr. Nsanze (Burundi), Mr. Monteiro (Cape Verde), Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica), Mr. Shah (India), Mr. Campbell (Ireland), Mr. Chimimba (Malawi), Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia), Mr. Sevilla Siero (Nicaragua), Mr. Gambari (Nigeria), Mr. Lamego (Portugal), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) and Mr. Kasanda (Zambia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 7 October 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/1996/832.

Members of the Council have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), document S/1996/827.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1996/822, which contains the text of identical letters dated 1 October 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council.

Members have received photocopies of a letter dated 10 October 1996 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations, contained in document S/1996/841.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Stanislaus I. G. Mudenge, whom I welcome and on whom I now call.

Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that the Council's business will profit from your wisdom and experience. I also wish to extend our warmest congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, on his excellent stewardship of the work of the Council last month. Allow me also to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his most insightful report on the situation in Angola, and to his Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, for his tireless efforts in the search for peace in Angola.

On 2 October 1996 the Heads of State or Government of the members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, deeply concerned about the stalemate in the Angola peace process, met in Luanda

with the intention of giving a fresh impetus to the process. Since it was UNITA that was failing to honour its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol, they decided to invite the UNITA leader, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, so that he could apprise them fully on why he was not honouring his commitments. Regrettably, this was not to be, as Mr. Savimbi, after first agreeing to attend the meeting, decided at the last moment not to turn up. The SADC leaders were naturally disappointed by this but decided nevertheless to proceed with their meeting. They were extensively briefed by, *inter alios*, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola.

Following a profound analysis of the prevailing situation in that country, the summit decided to dispatch to New York the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe in order to convey the region's position on the Angolan situation. Furthermore, they recommitted themselves to redoubling their efforts to contribute towards the realization of peace and stability in Angola. In this connection the summit mandated its Chairman, President Robert Gabriel Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe, to hold extensive consultations with all concerned with the view to facilitating an early high-level meeting between the Angolan Government and UNITA, as a way of building confidence between the two parties.

When the Security Council met in July this year to review the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), most of us shared the cautious optimism that prevailed then over the implementation of the Angolan peace process. Although we were all deeply conscious of the fact that the peace process continued to run behind schedule, our hopes were excited by some of the limited measures which both the Government of Angola and UNITA were taking. Keen to recognize that progress, the Security Council, in its last resolution on the situation in Angola, resolution 1064 (1996), commended both the Government of Angola and UNITA for registering real movement in the peace process. Conscious of the need to keep the momentum of the peace process going, the Council said it would, when next reviewing the mandate of UNAVEM III, take into consideration progress made in the implementation of the peace process.

It is therefore a matter of great disappointment to us all that, as the Council meets today, Angola is no nearer to peace than it was the last time the Council met; instead it is now hovering between war and peace, as the implementation process of the Lusaka Protocol is now stalled. Delays in meeting the targets laid out in Security Council resolution 864 (1993), as well as other political machinations, are not only undermining the fragile peace process, but even more depressing, are threatening to unravel the gains made thus far. Signs abound that narrow personal and factional interests are again in the ascendant.

Given a schedule of achievable goals and time-frames voluntarily agreed upon by the Government of Angola and UNITA, and encouraged by the content and substance of those agreed steps and measures on the road to peace, we in southern Africa, and I believe the international community as a whole, were looking forward, like the war-weary people of Angola, to the early formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation. We were hoping to celebrate the irreversibility of the peace process in that country during the course of the UNAVEM III mandate, which expires tomorrow. We are therefore naturally disappointed to note that the political will needed for that final push has been sadly lacking. Apparently, scheming, selfishness, greed and self-aggrandizement have stymied the peace process.

The stalemate in the process, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report, has not only dimmed the peace prospects, but more ominously has plunged Angola into a crisis of no peace, no war. That situation has been brought about by UNITA's non- compliance with agreements it has already committed itself to.

In his report, the Secretary-General informs us that over the past three months the Government of Angola took a number of positive steps, such as continuing the withdrawal movements of the Angolan Armed Forces from forward positions, adopting the National Programme for Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants and allocating up to $70 million of Government funds for the exercise, and launching the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population ahead of schedule. However, while the Government of Angola was taking these positive steps towards meeting agreed goals within the specified time- frames, UNITA on the other hand has dismally failed to honour its commitments, which it voluntarily made in the context of the peace process.

The Secretary-General's report clearly reveals that during the past three months UNITA in fact resorted to obstructing the deployment of UNAVEM III by hindering the movement of the Mission's personnel and aircraft,

and by vitiating the extension of the State administration throughout the country as provided for in the Lusaka Protocol. Major pieces of UNITA's weaponry and arsenal remain unaccounted for, and the formation of the unified Angolan Armed Forces remains stymied owing to UNITA's procrastination on this issue, despite the deployment of selection teams to almost all quartering areas.

I need not chronicle the sad plight of the Angolan people whose fate remains uncertain as long as the no-war-no-peace situation continues in that country. Suffice it to say that the 1996-1997 agricultural season is already upon us in southern Africa, and close to 1.5 million internally displaced Angolans will, once again, depend on food aid for the next 12 months simply because there are no adequate security guarantees to allow them to resettle in their areas of origin.

Faced with such a dangerous state of affairs only four months before the expiry of the lifespan of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) in February 1997, the international community owes it to itself and its credibility and, in particular, to the long-suffering people of Angola, to do all it takes to bring peace to Angola. The task ahead of us and the cost of prevarication have never been so painfully clear. Countless opportunities for making progress have been frittered away since the 1991 signing of the Bicesse Accords. The time has come to say enough is enough. Recalcitrance and obstinacy should not be tolerated or, worse still, rewarded.

The international community has invested too much in this peace process to see its efforts go down the drain and its authority challenged *ad nauseam*. The people of Angola have waited for too long and sacrificed too much to be denied peace for the umpteenth time. Their hopes and aspirations have been raised too high to be sacrificed yet again at the lowly altar of narrow self-interest and partisanship.

While calling upon UNITA to redeem itself by acting responsibly and honouring its commitments, we believe it is time the Security Council exercised its authority in a clear and decisive manner to salvage the Angolan peace process and restore the credibility of the United Nations in this whole affair. The Council must send a clear, unambiguous message to UNITA which says: time is up; the game is over.

If UNITA does not comply with the commitments it has voluntarily undertaken, then the following additional measures will be taken against it: all UNITA bank accounts will be frozen; its offices will be closed and no new ones will be allowed to be opened; the non-issuance of visas to UNITA leaders and personnel will come into effect, and there will be a limitation of trips to Bailundo or Andulo to peace process-related missions. These measures should come into force within 30 days of the adoption of a resolution which, *inter alia*, contains the above provisions unless the Secretary-General has reported UNITA's full compliance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council must leave UNITA in no doubt of its willingness to take further and more drastic action, if necessary, to bring peace to Angola.

The countries of SADC have decided to bring the Angolan peace process to the front burner in their regional and international engagements. The no-peace-no-war state in Angola is having a negative impact on regional cooperation in southern Africa. It is complicating Angola's role as a coordinator of major SADC-wide programmes. It is undermining the stability of the region as a whole. Therefore, besides the initiative being taken in this Council today, the leaders of southern Africa intend, as a matter of the highest priority, to initiate dialogue with all those countries they believe can make a contribution towards promoting the peace process in Angola. In this regard, they appealed to all those countries to refrain from any acts that may negatively affect the resolution of the Angolan conflict.

We should never forget that the suffering and innocent people of Angola are mere victims of the now-defunct colonial, racist and cold-war rivalries. They did not and certainly do not deserve such a cruel fate. Like their brothers and sisters in southern Africa, the people of Angola have suffered enough from the imposed designs of colonialism, racism — in particular its rabid variant known as apartheid — and cold-war rivalry. All that the people of southern Africa are asking for now is a chance to live in peace so that they can address the myriad problems and challenges left unattended for decades by previous colonial and racist regimes in their region. This is not too much to ask.

We bear no ill will towards any country or individual for our present predicament. Instead, we are looking for partners to create conditions for peace, progress and prosperity for our people in southern Africa. Our mission to New York is a mission to promote peace in our region. We are therefore asking the

Council to oblige UNITA to respect fully and urgently the deadlines established by the Security Council so as to bring peace and stability to Angola and southern Africa without further delay.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio De Moura, whom I welcome and on whom I now call.

Mr. De Moura (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): We are pleased to see Minister Mudenge here and to have heard his brilliant statement. We are also pleased to be here ourselves in order to join our voice to those of other delegations in addressing the situation in Angola.

Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the Security Council for the month of October. We are convinced that your long diplomatic experience, together with the invaluable contributions of the other members of the Council, will ensure the success of this meeting.

We extend to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Alfredo Cabral, Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, our congratulations for the outstanding capabilities demonstrated in his functions during his mandate.

It is a great pleasure to recognize in this meeting the presence of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, with a mandate from the summit meeting of heads of State from the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to conduct a joint, in-depth analysis of the current status of the peace process in Angola. We are still convinced that this Organ for international peacekeeping and security will continue to deploy efforts for the re-establishment of peace and legal order, wherever they may be at risk, by taking appropriate measures to ensure the rule of order and democracy.

That is why we have gathered once again to take part in deliberations on the complex peace process in Angola. Were it not for the delays deliberately caused by UNITA, this session would have been held under the aegis of peace and national reconciliation. Unfortunately, however, this is not yet the case. As His Excellency the President of the Republic stated recently:

> "The peace process in Angola is now at a crossroads between peace and war."

This meeting of the Security Council is therefore of paramount importance to the United Nations role in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, negotiated and signed by the Government and UNITA with the mediation of the United Nations.

In this context, we would like once again to express our gratitude and appreciation to the members of the Council and their Governments for their interest in, patience with and support for the Angolan peace process. We wish likewise to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to his dynamic Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, and to representatives of the troika of observers — the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal — for their unswerving and vigorous efforts in the field to bring about imaginative solutions for stepping up implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

We likewise salute the contributions made to the peace process by the eminent personalities — some of whom are members of the Security Council — who visited Angola during the period prior to 11 July 1996, the date of the adoption of Security Council resolution 1064 (1996).

Regrettably, the progress made since June has been limited and insignificant. The delays and the relative peace raised questions and doubts, and also undermined the confidence that had been gained. However, my Government took many initiatives, with assistance and support from the observers, to keep the process on an irreversible track.

Nevertheless, the current situation in Angola is characterized by a serious crisis of confidence — the result of the systematic delays caused by UNITA, under a variety of pretexts, with respect to compliance with and implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, and also at the level of the Joint Commission.

In fact, with the exception of the ceasefire now in place, the confining to quarters of UNITA troops and the start of demobilization of underage troops — all of which are very positive — other fundamental measures have been postponed due to a lack of cooperation and political will on the part of UNITA. I should like to mention by way of example the return of UNITA members to the National Assembly, which they left in 1992; the return of

the expected total number of general officers to the Angolan Armed Forces; the completion of the selection process of a total 26,300 UNITA military troops for induction into the Angolan Armed Forces; the re-establishment of government administration, given the continued illegal occupation of certain areas of the national territory; and the free circulation of goods and people in the areas under its control.

The Government has already fulfilled all its duties as envisaged in the Lusaka Protocol, except those related to the disarming of the civilian population. Those tasks cannot be accomplished unless State administration is restored in the areas now under UNITA control.

As members are aware, the President of the Republic, with a view to accommodating the leader of UNITA, and taking into consideration some suggestions from authorities and friendly Governments, decided to invite Mr. Jonas Savimbi to occupy one of the two vice-presidencies of the Republic.

To effect that concession and for the sake of national reconciliation, we made proposals to amend the national Constitution and would put the amendment before the National Assembly. As members may realize, we made concessions that went so far as to violate the principle of sovereignty and our own Constitution, because the position of second Vice-President is not provided for in the current Constitution — the one that was negotiated and approved with UNITA's participation.

As far as my Government is concerned, the position of Vice-President of the Republic, with executive responsibilities defined under the Constitution, would represent far more than the simple "special status" contained in the Lusaka Protocol, one of the frequent complaints lodged by the leader of UNITA.

On the other hand, the refusal of the leader of UNITA to take part in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security summit meeting of Heads of State, where he would join in the efforts of those African statesmen in the campaign for peace and national reconciliation in Angola, is clear evidence that Mr. Savimbi's designs differ from those of the Government and the international community, which are endeavouring to ensure peace in Angola.

It is easy to conclude that this position of UNITA and its leadership is designed to delay the completion of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, in order to make it impossible for the State to carry out its functions, and to aggravate the social and economic situation of our population and of our country. It is designed to wreak havoc in the country and on order and stability, with all the attendant consequences, and to block governmental efforts to implement its programme to raise the standard of living and improve the well-being of the peoples and of all those who live in Angola and who are committed to the development of this long-suffering nation.

Judging from this scenario, my Government feels that the time has come to exert greater pressure to compel UNITA to carry out in good faith those tasks of the Lusaka Protocol still pending completion. It is not overstating the matter to remind the Council that one of the pressure mechanisms already adopted is contained in Security Council resolution 864 (1993) of 15 July 1993. It provided for the application of sanctions against UNITA which have never been fully applied. We do not wish to return to war. We are striving for a lasting peace. We want to have an authentic reconciliation and we wish to foster development based on respect for the rule of law, democracy and human rights.

It is in this context that my Government considers that this meeting is the time for the Security Council to apply the second package of sanctions under paragraph 26 of Council resolution 864 (1993). We believe that only by taking a firm stand and by exerting effective pressure will we succeed in forcing and even helping UNITA and its leader to abide by Security Council decisions and to honour its commitments. We believe that it is time for UNITA to abide by those commitments, which were undertaken freely before the people of Angola and the international concert of nations.

Finally, my Government hopes that this meeting will represent a historic turning point in the process of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, bringing Angolans new hope that the peace process is staying on track and doing away with the obstacles to the peace process still pending.

Before closing, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate that the Angolan Government remains seriously committed to the search for a negotiated settlement that will lead to the restoration of peace and national reconciliation. However, we shall never renounce our responsibilities under the Constitution to preserve domestic order and to protect the vital interests of Angola.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, whom I welcome and on whom I now call.

Mr. Simão (Mozambique): It is with great pleasure that I wish to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. You can rest assured of my delegation's cooperation as you discharge your duties. Let me commend your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Alfredo Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the Council's work last month. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his strong leadership in dealing with the growing concerns facing this body, in particular with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

The representative of the Chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, my dear brother and colleague, His Excellency Mr. Stanislaus Mudenge, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, has already highlighted our major concerns on the issue before us today. In doing so, he has also reiterated the Southern African region's continued support for and solidarity with the people of Angola, as well as our collective desire to contribute, to the best of our ability, to the attainment of a lasting peace and tranquillity in that sister country.

His Excellency Mr. Venancio De Moura, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, has just given us a vivid picture of the latest developments in his country. My delegation has examined the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/1996/827, dated 4 October 1996, and other relevant documents before the Council. We salute the Secretary-General for his objective report, which we see as a good basis for our discussions today.

In reading that report, my delegation wishes to commend the fact that the ceasefire continues to hold throughout the territory of Angola, despite several violations registered during the period under review. However, we are concerned with the slow pace of implementation of major provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. These include, *inter alia*, the quartering of UNITA troops, the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, and the demobilization and socio-economic reintegration of former soldiers. In this context, the issue of the low quality of weapons and ammunition surrendered by UNITA to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) must be urgently addressed. This fact, coupled with the discrepancy between the number of troops initially declared by UNITA and the numbers of those which have actually been registered in the assembly areas, casts serious doubts over the real intentions of UNITA in the overall peace process. Moreover, restrictions imposed by UNITA on demining and road-rehabilitation activities will only delay the undertaking of the needed humanitarian relief operations. Therefore, these actions, which are contrary to the well-being of the Angolan people, should be stopped.

As illustrated in the Secretary-General's report, a summit meeting of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security was recently held at Luanda, in an effort to reverse the apparent stalemate in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. The summit, *inter alia*, expressed deep regret over the absence of Mr. Jonas Savimbi from the meeting at this crucial time in the process, and made a strong appeal to UNITA to fulfil its commitments within the deadlines established by the Lusaka Protocol and Security Council resolution 864 (1993).

As I emphasized in my statement before the General Assembly, Mozambique, along with other SADC countries, deems it of the utmost importance that the conflict in Angola be finally settled. Peace in Angola is a matter of regional concern. It will contribute decisively to the achievement of the strategic goals set forth by SADC, and it will allow our region to embark on the process of regional integration and dedicate our collective efforts to the well-being of our peoples.

Continued instability in Angola has prevented that country from contributing more effectively to the implementation of projects envisaged by our Community and other initiatives on the continent. Angola itself is a coordinator of an important sector — energy — within SADC. Therefore, peace in that country is vital to enable the people and the Government of Angola to play a more active role in the efforts for national reconstruction and development, as well as in the search for solutions to other conflicts still prevailing in other African countries. Furthermore, instability in Angola hinders regional efforts aimed at creating a favourable environment for investment. For these reasons, the leaders of the region have resolved to give their utmost priority to the speedy implementation and satisfactory conclusion of the peace

process in Angola. We believe that in order to ensure the expeditious implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and all relevant Security Council resolutions, this body should send a strong and clear message to UNITA, urging it to comply fully with its commitments.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Lieutenant-General Mompati S. Merafhe.

Mr. Merafhe (Botswana): My delegation associates itself with the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mudenge, Chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) ministerial delegation to the Security Council, as well as those of my colleagues from southern Africa who have spoken before me.

The Council is meeting to consider the situation in Angola barely three months before the termination of the life of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). Botswana, like other members of the international community, had hoped that by now the peace process in Angola would have become irreversible. It is a matter of profound regret that today the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has reached a stalemate. It is clear that the gains of the last few months are in grave danger. The most crucial aspects of the Lusaka Protocol, such as the completion of the quartering of UNITA personnel, the handing over to UNAVEM III by UNITA of its heavy weapons and ammunition and the selection of UNITA personnel to be incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces, remain unimplemented.

UNITA's persistent obstruction of the activities of UNAVEM III, such as the detention of a helicopter and its crew on 8 September, the denial of permits to aircraft to carry out investigations in Chitembo and interference with the demining activities of the United Nations-contracted company, are acts which the international community should deprecate in the strongest possible terms. These practices, including UNITA's policies of procrastination and its reluctance to honour its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol, have cast a shadow of doubt on UNITA's will for peace. The atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence between the Government of Angola and UNITA, which has been nurtured with the help of UNAVEM III and which is vital to the implementation of the peace process, is being undermined. The decision of the Third Extraordinary Congress of UNITA to reject the Government's offer to Mr. Savimbi of a vice-presidential post is deeply regrettable and is not helpful to the creation of a climate conducive to national reconciliation in Angola.

UNITA must recognize that the path to peace and democracy in Angola can only be through unity and national reconciliation. In this respect, we encourage the Government of Angola and UNITA to hold high-level talks aimed at resolving the outstanding issues and putting the peace process back on track. Southern Africa has a strong desire to see peace prevail in Angola, and to this end, the Heads of State or Government of the subregion are prepared to play a constructive role in the search for a lasting solution to the political crisis in Angola. We encourage Mr. Savimbi and UNITA to have confidence in the commitment of the leaders of southern Africa to mediate in a fair, impartial and credible manner. It is our hope therefore that Mr. Savimbi will respond positively to their invitation to attend the next meeting of SADC on the situation in Angola.

It is a matter of public record that UNAVEM III is currently the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation. What this means is that the international community has invested enormous resources to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the Angolan crisis. It is therefore extremely important that UNAVEM III should succeed in the discharge of its mandate. It should be appreciated that UNAVEM's failure would have far-reaching consequences not only for Angola but also for the whole SADC region. And the international community cannot afford to allow the enormous resources expended in the UNAVEM III operation to go to waste.

The situation in Angola must not be allowed to fester. A continuation of the current stalemate can only lead to the intensification of mutual suspicion between the Government of Angola and UNITA and result in a new outbreak of hostilities, which would pose a serious threat to peace and stability in southern Africa. The time has come for the Security Council and the international community as a whole to send a firm message that a return to hostilities will not be tolerated.

Southern Africa a few years ago witnessed the collapse of the Bicesse Accords and its tragic aftermath. We do not wish to see such a painful experience repeated. The Council should not allow such a situation

to occur in Angola for the second time as this would severely impair the credibility of the Council. Botswana and other southern African States are convinced that the Security Council should take measures to ensure the full implementation of its resolutions. The Council should therefore be prepared to impose on UNITA the measures set out in paragraph 26 of Security Council resolution 864 (1993) and call for the vigorous and strict implementation of the measures outlined in part B of that resolution.

When UNAVEM III was launched on 8 February 1995 I observed that the primary responsibility for the successful implementation of the provisions of both the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol rested with the people of Angola. I also noted that this could be the last chance for them to receive the support of the international community in the search for a peaceful solution to their problem. This is not to suggest that the United Nations has no responsibility to the people of Angola. It has; and it cannot and must not shirk it.

We should do everything in our power — all of us — to ensure that we succeed this time.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba and Mali, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite these representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nuñez-Mosquera (Cuba) and Mr. Ouane (Mali) took the seats reserved form them at the side of the Council chamber.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): I would first like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Angola, which reflects, among other things, the exceptional work being done by the men and women of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to support the peace process under trying conditions. My thanks also go to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Maître Beye, whose extraordinary devotion to his mission of bringing peace to Angola has been exemplary.

I would also like to welcome the presence of the distinguished ministerial delegation whose members have addressed the Council on behalf of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Their role in the peace process is vital, lending their voice and a helping hand to bring the long era of conflict in Angola to a close. We were very pleased to hear this morning that Angola has been placed on the front burner of SADC's regional and international agenda, and we fully agree with the assessment of the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe that the condition of no peace, no war for Angola is unacceptable.

Despite that assessment, we must also acknowledge that we have come a long way on the path towards peace and national reconciliation, given the dark days of just a few years ago. Angola, and indeed the world, is poised for the most significant, and to some the most difficult, step in this process: the integration of two warring parties into a single entity, politically unified under a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation and militarily unified under a single high command with a single armed force.

With so much accomplished and with the end in sight, however, we are very troubled to find the peace process nearly at a standstill, with dates for accomplishment of promised actions set and repeatedly disregarded; with combatants in quartering areas becoming impatient to get on with their lives; with the rains that hinder all forms of transportation threatening to unhinge all demobilization plans.

It is time now for UNITA to act boldly, to take the remaining steps towards compliance with the obligations it set for itself in the Lusaka Protocol. Militarily, it must integrate its senior generals into the high command and designate its combatants for service in the nation's armed forces. Politically, it must take its place in a Government of National Unity, with its representatives rejoining the National Assembly to assist in developing legislation and with its civilian officials helping to spread central State control throughout the national territory. It is also incumbent on the Government of Angola to foster the conditions for this to take place by putting aside past differences and making use of the vast resources of talent being provided by UNITA.

We and the rest of the world cannot hide our impatience with the standstill in the process. As friends of all the people of Angola, we have given our advice and support. Now, as any good friend would do, we see

that the time has come to express ourselves more strongly, to help a friend to find the way more clearly to make a decision that, although difficult and fraught with uncertainty, is the best one. The United States strongly urges UNITA to avail itself of the security of the few remaining months of UNAVEM III's mission to complete rapidly these commitments.

If UNITA can make these efforts and the Government of Angola can honour its agreement to welcome UNITA's reintegration, then the United States and, I would think, other members of the international community would be prepared to offer our continuing assistance in rebuilding Angola.

I am proud of the role played by my country in this international effort to assist Angola. This past year, the United States provided more than $100 million in assistance to address the tragic legacy of civil war, through programmes to resettle refugees and displaced persons, demobilize soldiers, build democratic institutions, reform the economy, demine the roads and fields and address the disproportionate hardships for women, children and the handicapped. Today, child soldiers are putting down their AK-47s and picking up schoolbooks; joint teams are learning to lift the millions of mines that plague Angola instead of planting new ones; the Government and UNITA are deciding their futures around a negotiating table and not on a battlefield.

In short, we have come a long way, and we can almost see the end. We can almost see the withdrawal of the large UNAVEM III military force provided by the Member States of the United Nations to ensure peace in Angola during this difficult transition. We can almost see a vast reduction in the threat of landmines to future generations of Angolans. We can almost see the entire region of southern Africa finally at peace: Mozambique at peace, South Africa at peace, Namibia at peace and now the possibility of Angola joining its brothers. We can almost see the commencement of a new era of peace and prosperity as Angola, with the assistance of other nations, reasserts itself in the world economy.

The continued commitment of the United States to the success of the peace process is evidenced by the fact that the Secretary of State will visit Luanda next week. He is hopeful that his visit can add to the impetus already provided by the SADC summit of last week to reinvigorate the peace process, and to the work of the Angolan people to build the new Angola, an Angola that is democratic, respectful of human rights, market-oriented and possessing the basic institutions of a civil society.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, I would like to welcome Their Excellencies the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), to this meeting of the Security Council. I thank them for their important statements. A few days ago, the SADC countries held a summit meeting at Luanda to discuss ways to promote the Angolan peace process; a communiqué was issued afterwards. Today, these four Foreign Ministers have come to the Security Council in person further to elaborate their views on the question of Angola and the position of the southern African States. We commend SADC for its tireless efforts in search of lasting peace in Angola.

China has always supported the efforts of African States to resolve their regional problems on their own and has deep respect for their independence, self-respect and self-reliance in their quest for lasting peace and development in the African continent. The international community and the Security Council should provide support and assistance in various forms to the African States in their efforts towards that end.

Like the SADC countries, we too are deeply disturbed by the impasse in which the Angolan peace process once again finds itself. Almost two years after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, and after repeated revisions to the implementation schedule regarding relevant agreements reached by the two parties, work in key areas of the peace process remains incomplete.

We are concerned at the delay by UNITA in participating in the formation of a Government of National Unity and a unified armed forces, and we are concerned especially at the rejection by UNITA's Third Extraordinary Congress of the vice-presidency offered to Mr. Savimbi in the Government of National Unity. We also find it regrettable that Mr. Savimbi chose not to attend the SADC summit meeting held early this month.

We are of the view that by so doing UNITA has not only reneged on its own commitments but has harmed the restoration of trust between the two parties. Further delay in resolving the aforementioned questions may compromise the results already achieved in the Angolan peace process. We do not wish to see the peace process fail on the brink of success. The Chinese delegation

would like to reiterate that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant agreements reached by the two parties brooks no further delay.

The question of Angola is the last hot-spot issue to be resolved in southern Africa. After the prolonged ravages and disruptions of war, the Angolan people yearn for peace and tranquillity. We sincerely hope that the two parties, and the UNITA leadership in particular, will, in the general interest of the country and the people, demonstrate political will and good faith in scrupulously honouring their obligations under the agreements. Only then will the peace process in Angola enjoy the continued support of the international community.

Tomorrow, the Security Council will take action on another extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). As the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation today, UNAVEM III has made positive efforts and important contributions towards monitoring the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and towards restoring peace and national reconciliation in Angola. It goes without saying that the establishment, execution and success of a peacekeeping operation require the full cooperation of the parties concerned. According to Security Council resolution 976 (1995), the mandate of UNAVEM III should be fulfilled by February 1997. Whether this objective can be realized as expected, and whether the peace process can be successfully salvaged, will depend on whether the two parties, especially UNITA, fully cooperate with the Mission.

The Chinese delegation is ready to favourably consider a further extension of the UNAVEM III mandate. We hope that the two parties, especially UNITA, will seize this opportunity by taking concrete measures to redouble their efforts for peace, so that a durable peace will soon reign in Angola and in the whole of southern Africa.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): My delegation would like to begin by welcoming the timeliness of this open debate on Angola.

We would also like to warmly welcome the ministerial delegation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security to this Security Council meeting.

Indeed, the lack of progress in the peace process, which is a source of concern to the international community, clearly warrants the convening of this meeting. The presence of the SADC ministerial delegation reflects the seriousness of the situation in Angola, as described by the Secretary-General in his comprehensive report on the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and on the work of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III).

Our initial hope that the parties had embarked on a definite path towards national reconciliation has been frustrated by the continued failure in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol according to the agreed timetable and outlines established by the Security Council. The lack of progress in the implementation of the Protocol has rendered the task of UNAVEM III infinitely more difficult.

The failure of UNITA to take concrete steps in compliance with the Lusaka Protocol as scheduled is alarming. We must note with deep concern the delays, particularly in the areas of the quartering of UNITA troops; the selection of soldiers for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA); and the slow process of the transfer of UNITA commanding officers to join the FAA, as well as the handing over to UNAVEM III of insufficient quantities of weapons and the poor quality of those handed over, and the continued presence of UNITA police.

Furthermore, prospects for progress have been dashed by the refusal of Mr. Jonas Savimbi to participate in the summit of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, held on 2 October 1996 in Luanda.

All of these developments have cast serious doubt on the political will of UNITA in implementing the Lusaka Protocol.

The international community has invested a great deal in the efforts to promote peace and national reconciliation in Angola. UNAVEM III, which is currently the largest of the United Nations peacekeeping operations, has contributed considerably to the improvement of the situation in the country, notably the ceasefire, which is generally holding. However, we note that ceasefire violations persist in the diamond-producing provinces.

Another area in which UNAVEM III has clearly contributed to enhancing security is in that of landmine clearance. However, the continuation of the practice of placing new mines does not reflect positively on the desire of the parties to cease fighting. This practice,

which is a veritable scourge in Angola, is affecting the operational capacities and the safety of UNAVEM III personnel.

My delegation expresses its deep regret at the casualties suffered by UNAVEM III troops due to landmines. Also, the fact that UNITA has placed restrictions on UNAVEM III in its demining operations is unacceptable. The presence of mines is impeding the rehabilitation of rural communities. It is jeopardizing the new planting season and is also posing a serious threat to the resettlement of internally displaced persons.

In this regard, we must commend UNAVEM III and the United Nations for their efforts in demining and in training in demining. We encourage close cooperation between the various agencies, and call on UNITA and all parties to respect the mandate of UNAVEM III.

We are also quite concerned by the reports of harassment of humanitarian relief workers. We call on all parties to respect their security and activities.

The goal of national reconciliation, towards which all the parties in Angola are striving, is not easy to attain. The beginning of nation-building can, unfortunately, be jeopardized, given the economic and political challenges that Angola must still surmount, as well as the lack of mutual trust and confidence among the parties.

My delegation hopes in the near future to see serious efforts in disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating former soldiers into civilian life; the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces; and the extension of State administration throughout the country. Substantial progress in these areas is fundamental for ensuring peace, security and stability in the country.

Angola has been ravaged by civil war for more than two decades, and the divisions are deep. While national reconciliation may prove to be a long and arduous task, the parties themselves have committed to this path, which is imperative for the future of Angola.

We continue to believe that the Government of Angola and UNITA will strictly uphold their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and the commitments they entered into at the meeting in Libreville, Gabon, on 1 March 1996.

It is in this context that the Indonesian delegation fully supports any measures that will further encourage the parties to keep the process on track. The recent regional initiatives taken by SADC to pursue the process must be supported by the international community. My delegation is encouraged by SADC's intention to convene another summit, and stresses the need to create a favourable atmosphere to ensure the participation of Mr. Savimbi. At the same time, we strongly urge Mr. Savimbi to show his good faith by participating in the forthcoming summit.

Angola remains a point of instability in southern Africa. Resolution of this conflict will contribute greatly to the establishment of peace and cooperation in the region. At this crucial juncture, it is essential that President Dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi continue to meet and resolve all remaining issues of contention, including constitutional matters.

Having expressed its position on the developments in Angola, the Indonesian delegation is ready to support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended. We will endorse the option of a shorter-term mandate, until mid-December. Although UNITA continues to profess its commitment to the peace process, we wish to stress that it cannot continue to stall the implementation of the Lusaka accord, lest it jeopardize the entire peace process.

Before concluding, I would like to convey my delegation's appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye, for his tireless endeavours to further the peace process, and to the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) for their work under difficult circumstances. We also recognize the efforts of the three observer States and, finally, we would like to commend the efforts of the countries of the region, especially the States members of SADC.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. The Italian delegation is sure that under your wise guidance our work this month will be successful. At the same time, I wish very much to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, for his exemplary leadership of our work last month.

Today, on behalf of Italy, I wish to warmly welcome to the Council the delegation of Foreign Ministers of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which is led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Stanislaus

Mudenge, and includes the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Venâncio de Moura; of Botswana, Mompati Merafhe; and of Mozambique, Leonardo Simão. Their presence, and that of the Permanent Representative of South Africa, our good friend Ambassador Jele, is the most valid testimony to the regional dimension of the situation in Angola, and their participation in our debate offers us a crucial African perspective on the events we are being called upon to assess in making our decision.

I also wish to address my heartfelt thanks to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Maître Alionne Blondin Beye, whose unwavering commitment is one of the highest examples of diplomatic talent and sacrifice for a just cause. Needless to say, the troika of observers of the peace process, and the countries contributing troops to the Angola operation, are equally entitled to our appreciation and gratitude. Last but not least, Italy fully associates itself with the statement to be made later by Ireland on behalf of the European Union.

The latest developments in Angola are disappointing. The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is encountering major difficulties and setbacks. Long-standing commitments are not being respected. As the report of the Secretary-General makes very clear, the main responsibility for these failures lies with UNITA.

The hope that UNITA's Third Extraordinary Congress would restore momentum to the peace process has been dashed. Although the Congress confirmed the principle that UNITA should be transformed into a political party, it is clearly wavering at this fundamental juncture. Fortunately, for the most part, the ceasefire continues to be respected. However, as has already been said, the quartering of troops is moving along with great uncertainty, raising doubts about whether UNITA is holding back its true combatants. Moreover, the weapons being handed in are almost always old and unusable. Preparations for the unification of the Angolan Armed Forces are still at the preliminary stage. The delay in sending to Luanda the last four commanding officers expected to join the Angolan Armed Forces is one more reason for serious concern.

Mr. Savimbi's non-participation in the summit meeting of the States members of the Southern African Development Community on 2 October — despite his previous and precise commitment to attend — is very upsetting. No clear reasons were given for his absence, which was surprising, particularly in view of the fact that many eminent Heads of State of the region were in attendance.

The concerns of the neighboring States are, in our view, fully justified. Angola is one of the largest and, potentially, richest countries of the region. Its internal crisis is indeed having a negative impact, not only on Angola, but also on the security, stability and economies of the neighbouring countries and many others in the area. Major efforts are currently under way, especially within the framework of the SADC, to stimulate economic development in the area. Of course, these efforts would be greatly enhanced if true reconciliation and true peace were restored in Angola.

As far as the economy is concerned, the news contained in the Secretary-General's report points in the opposite direction. Despite its enormous resources and growth potential, the economic conditions in Angola are dramatic. Italy is one of a handful of countries that have never ceased to assist Angola, even when security conditions proved dangerous for members of Italian non-governmental organizations, who, I remind the Council, have already paid a heavy toll in precious human lives in other peace operations. The Italian Government has participated as one of the major donors in the European Union's emergency assistance programme. In the past five years Italy's donations have amounted to a total of approximately $110 million. For 1996 we have allotted $13 million for food aid and emergency assistance activities, including demobilization. Furthermore, a team of Italian instructors is participating in the demining activities being conducted in Angola, with the assistance of the United Nations and the international community.

We have been informed of initiatives taken in the last few days by the UNITA leadership that seem to indicate a greater willingness to respect its commitments. This is an old story. Whenever the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) mandate is about to expire, assurances of good will are made, but afterwards nothing comes of them. This time, however, we believe that we have reached the point of no return. This was made abundantly clear by the Foreign Ministers now sitting around this table in our bilateral meeting with them yesterday. If the parties — first and foremost UNITA — do not face up to their commitments to complete the military aspects of the Lusaka Protocol immediately, without further delay and procrastination, they must understand that the entire peace process, and with it the commitment of the international community, will be in serious danger. Patience is running out.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is meeting at the request of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the Southern African Development Community. Their timely request comes in the wake of the summit of the Heads of State of the region, held on 2 October in Luanda, which dealt with the situation in Angola. The delegation of Guinea-Bissau welcomes the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, while emphasizing the validity of their collective endeavour and the relevance of the statements they just made before the Council.

The points of views expressed are legitimate ones. We understand them because, in fact, we share the same frustration. The situation in Angola remains difficult, and characterized as it is by continued antagonism, which contributes to its precariousness and to further delaying the peace process set up by the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, almost two years ago.

The most recent report of the Secretary-General is clear in this regard. The report states that in the past three months little progress has been achieved in the implementation of the timetable agreed on by the two parties. Scrupulous respect for this timetable should lead to the creation of new structures allowing for the effective participation of UNITA in the governance of Angola. The facts as presented by the Secretary-General were broadly corroborated yesterday morning by his Special Representative, Maître Blondin Beye, before members of the Council.

I should like at this juncture, on behalf of my country to pay tribute to Maître Blondin Beye for his determination and effectiveness and his keen sense of duty. I should like also to pay well-deserved tribute to all the military observers, the staff officers, the civilian police and the troops, as well as to all the non-governmental and humanitarian organizations whose personnel are risking their lives to contribute to the peace efforts in Angola.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, reporting on the situation, gave us a perfectly clear and highly instructive picture of the circumstances prevailing today in Angola. The solution to the Angolan conflict certainly faces many obstacles.

The decades-old war in Angola has resulted in hundreds of thousands of casualties and caused irreparable harm. It has lasted so long that it is now time to put a definite end to it. The many agreements reached along the path of national reconciliation and peace, up to the signing of the Lusaka Protocol in November 1994, must serve as a reference in our common reflection and in charting the course ahead.

These various stages have, unfortunately, only too often been marked by unfulfilled commitments and set-backs, which have today led to, and fuel, an unprecedented climate of suspicion. Regrettably, mistrust between the parties persists. We must try to overcome it by pursuing a constructive dialogue, because without dialogue there can be no national harmony. The path to peace in Angola is no doubt a difficult one, but it can be followed if taken with determination and open-mindedness.

The higher interest of the Angolan people must continue to be the final goal and to have primacy in the peace process in Angola. It is this primacy that the political parties must endeavour to acknowledge and respect and which in the final analysis must be brought to bear in negotiations and prevail in the end. The Angolan people have suffered too much and are desperately waiting for an end to be put to the procrastination and for other obstacles to the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol to be removed.

The agreed-upon timetable must be complied with in all of its aspects. We know that the proposed machinery is not easy to set up and that its complexity is compounded by political and psychological factors. Nevertheless, the two parties, and UNITA in particular, must continue to endeavour to work tirelessly within the prescribed time-frame and through concrete, mutually agreed action towards the achievement of peace in Angola.

This notwithstanding, some stages, because they were previously defined and agreed upon, are unavoidable and must be dealt with quickly. In this connection, we deplore the slowness in the implementation of the military aspect of the Lusaka Protocol, which must be corrected. The efforts at quartering, disarmament and demobilization must continue to be pursued rigorously in an overall effort at unifying the Angolan Armed Forces, which necessarily requires the integration of high-ranking UNITA officers. My country notes with satisfaction that an important step

has been taken in this regard, but the fact remains that it is insufficient.

The peace effort in Angola cannot have any strings attached to it other than those requirements provided for in the Lusaka Protocol. It would be regrettable if, after all the steps taken by the parties — which, we should recall, were the result of lengthy and painstaking negotiations — the peace process were jeopardized once again because of partisan considerations that are unrelated to the previously agreed framework. In fact, we must do away with all the remaining obstacles, promote the free circulation of people and goods throughout the national territory, and work towards the strict implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

The international community certainly has an important role to play in the affirmation and maintenance of the irreversible nature of the peace process in Angola, which should be completed, in accordance with the agreed-upon framework, as quickly as possible. We are aware that the United Nations presence in that country involves a considerable financial effort in view of the budgetary restrictions imposed on the functioning of our Organization. The parties concerned are aware that the effort of the international community can be justified and will continue only if they show a genuine determination to work tirelessly towards the establishment of a comprehensive and definitive peace in Angola. We are convinced that once peace has returned, the international community will make the necessary contribution to rebuilding the country, which has been laid to ruin by so many years of war.

The peace process in Angola is going through a crucial phase. We must support it so that it might be concluded as quickly as possible. The precariousness of the situation calls for the good will of all the parties concerned, which should act in a constructive manner, bearing in mind the genuine interests of the Angolan people, who aspire, and are entitled, to peace and well-being. My country has high hopes that UNITA will take part with resolve in the effort at national reconciliation.

The nations that we represent are duty-bound to ensure, and to lend their assistance to, the peaceful and final settlement of the conflict in Angola.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Allow me to express a personal welcome at this formal debate to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, who have come to New York to express the concerns of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries regarding the Angolan peace process. I believe that we all are very much appreciative of their contribution to the work of the Security Council. In addition to their fruitful direct impact on the work of the Security Council, their very presence, following the summit of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, which took place in Luanda on 2 October 1996, is greeted by my Government as an encouraging sign. It reflects a trend in Africa that we have recently noted for finding solutions to political problems in consultations at a regional level. We hope to see this trend grow. Joint efforts on a regional level might bear solutions to problems which are too complex to be addressed on a national or global basis.

Allow me also to welcome the presence at this occasion of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Angola, Maître Blondin Beye, and to express the appreciation of my Government for his relentless efforts to keep the peace process in Angola on track.

Before I briefly touch on the subject at hand, I wish to make reference to the forthcoming statement of our Irish colleague on behalf of the European Union. Germany has contributed to the statement and subscribes fully to it.

The lack of progress in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol is disappointing. The continuing delays and unfulfilled promises, especially on the part of UNITA, in implementing the timetables for the completion of military and political issues are no longer acceptable. We therefore call on UNITA to implement all aspects — and at present particularly the military ones — of the Lusaka Protocol without further delay. The remaining four UNITA generals must be sent to Luanda to take up positions in the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) command; the selection of UNITA soldiers for incorporation into the FAA must be completed; the quartering process of UNITA soldiers and the handing-over of all weapons must be completed and declared completed by UNITA; and the flow of deserters from quartering areas must be stemmed and those soldiers who have deserted must return.

Time is short. The mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) expires in February of next year.

The political issues still have to be addressed. We hope to see progress in the efforts to determine the special status of the President of UNITA, Mr. Savimbi;

to extend the state administration to the whole territory of Angola; to have the seats reserved for the UNITA members of Parliament assumed; and to build a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation.

Germany has already contributed significantly to the efforts exerted by the international community in the field of humanitarian assistance and will continue to do so. My Government remains committed to supporting the civilian population of Angola suffering from the consequences of the civil war.

We are paying particular attention to the grave problem of landmines in Angola and to the need for effective demining. As you know, the fight against anti-personnel mines is one of Germany's political priorities. Germany has provided up to nine demining experts as inspectors for demining activities within UNAVEM III. They have cleared more than 4,000 kilometres of roads from landmines in cooperation with the United Nations-contracted demining company MECHEM and helped to assure the high target of 99.6 per cent of mine clearance throughout this distance. In addition, two German non-governmental organizations, which have recently been granted considerable funds by the Federal Government of Germany, are carrying out mine-clearance activities in the field. Assistance to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs Voluntary Trust Fund for Assistance in Mine Clearance is another aspect of our activities in Angola.

Despite all these efforts, success remains contingent upon further progress in the peace process. It is therefore our sincere hope that this peace process will continue and that the Angolan people will ultimately find the peaceful environment they are entitled to.

Allow me, finally, to commend the efforts of the three observer States to the peace process in Angola. My delegation will contribute in a constructive way to the consultations in the Council on a draft resolution that has been prepared by the observer States in consultation with the delegations of the five SADC member States currently here. We welcome the draft resolution as a good basis for the work of the Security Council.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): My delegation also extends a warm welcome to the delegation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), composed of the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. We are grateful to the members of SADC for the initiative they have taken to accelerate the Angolan peace process. It is our strong hope that this initiative, combined with the consistent effort of the three observer States, will mark a turning point towards the completion of the peace process on the second anniversary of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. We agree with the assessment made by the Foreign Ministers of SADC that peace and stability in Angola are prerequisites for peace and development in the southern African region as a whole.

We share the general frustration and the disappointment expressed by the SADC members at the extremely slow progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. Indeed, the Angolan peace process has stalled since the last extension of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) mandate three months ago. Although we recognize that the near completion of the quartering of the UNITA troops and the continued holding of the ceasefire are no small achievements, key political and military issues remain unresolved. We regret the persistent delays in the formation of the unified armed forces, in the extension of state administration to the entire country and in the establishment of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation. UNITA's attempts to hinder the demining operations of UNAVEM III are also a matter of serious concern to my Government.

The current stalling of the peace process is largely attributable to UNITA's failure to honour its commitments, into which it freely entered. We were disappointed that the Third Extraordinary Congress of UNITA ended without taking the necessary decisions to facilitate the settlement of outstanding issues. The subsequent failure by Mr. Savimbi to attend the SADC summit meeting on the grounds of political conditions has only reinforced the international community's doubts about the credibility of UNITA's commitment to the peace process.

Given the tremendous amount of effort and resources the international community has devoted to the Angolan peace process, including nearly $1 million each day out of the already strained United Nations peacekeeping budget, we cannot settle for less than a shining success in what has become the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation. We believe it is time to send an unequivocal message to UNITA that the Security Council's patience is not unlimited and that any further procrastination by UNITA in the implementation of its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and its pattern of last-minute concessions will no longer be tolerated. In this context, we are in favor of the idea proposed by

SADC to apply additional measures in the event that UNITA fails to comply with its obligations within a prescribed time-frame.

We call on UNITA to fulfill without delay the tasks enumerated in the "Mediation Document" formulated by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The speed and sincerity with which UNITA cooperates with these tasks will be a test of the credibility of UNITA's continued commitment to the peace process. Among the most urgent tasks at this crucial stage is the completion of the selection of UNITA soldiers for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), without which the process of demobilization and social integration of ex-combatants cannot move forward. In this regard, we urge UNITA to send immediately its four remaining generals for integration into the FAA.

We share the view that the lack of mutual trust and confidence between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi lies at the heart of the stalemate in the peace process. That is why my Government attaches great importance to an early meeting between the two leaders in Angola. We look forward to the expeditious settlement at that meeting of all outstanding issues, including the special status of Mr. Savimbi.

One positive aspect of the Angolan peace process is that, while the ceasefire continues to hold, the achievement of political objectives through military means has now become virtually impossible. It is incumbent upon the international community to make one last-ditch effort to revive the momentum of the peace process and ensure its successful completion by putting maximum pressure on the parties, as well as by assisting in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Angola. In this context, I would like to express my delegation's readiness to support the combined efforts of the SADC Foreign Ministers and the three observer States to work out a draft resolution.

Finally, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III for only two months. My delegation expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the situation in Angola and to his Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, for his devotion and commitment to ensuring the success of the Angolan peace process. We also pay tribute to the men and women serving in UNAVEM III.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): I take sincere pleasure in welcoming to the Security Council Chamber the delegation of States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC): the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and the representative of the Republic of South Africa. Their active participation in today's meeting, like that of other delegations, shows the growing aspiration of countries, including the countries of the southern African region, to promoting through joint efforts the establishment of a lasting peace in Angola.

The Russian Federation, as a member of the troika of observers of the Angolan settlement, is actively participating with a view to the successful conclusion of the peace process, and is supporting the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative to achieve this goal.

Overcoming the many years of conflict in Angola would not only be a major blessing for a country which is friendly to us, for its people and for other States in the region of southern Africa, but would also be a substantial success for the peacemaking efforts of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole, which have invested significant human, material and financial resources in support of the Angolan peace process.

Unfortunately, there have recently been serious set-backs in this process. Many key provisions of the Lusaka Protocol have not yet been fulfilled. The implementation of such key political and military aspects of the settlement as the demobilization of combatants, the establishment of a unified Angolan armed forces, and the establishment of a single parliament and a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation has been stalled.

The events of the last three months have shown quite clearly that responsibility for the situation lies primarily with UNITA, whose leadership is evading compliance with pledged commitments on various pretexts. We also believe such activities by UNITA to be unacceptable because they undermine confidence in the peace process and run counter to the key interests of the Angolan people.

We note with satisfaction the constructive actions of the Government of Angola in complying with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and the Libreville accord. It is obvious that the time has come to send UNITA an extremely clear signal on the international community's readiness to take harsh measures to combat attempts to obstruct the peace process.

We believe that the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council should set forth a strict time-frame for UNITA's compliance with a specific list of the most urgent tasks to be carried out to help strengthen trust between the two Angolan parties, and to a give fresh impetus to the peace process. We must also issue a clear warning to the leaders of UNITA that if they undermine the implementation of that timetable, the Security Council will very soon consider again imposing additional sanctions against UNITA.

We trust that the UNITA leadership will finally take a sober look at the situation and embark upon a path of forthright compliance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and constructive political dialogue, which is the only way to settle problems as they arise.

We hope that the second anniversary of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol — which we are to commemorate on 20 November — will take place in a climate of optimism, and of confidence in a future of lasting peace for the people of Angola. As this has not yet happened, we find fully valid the proposal made in the report of the Secretary-General that we extend the mandate of UNAVEM III for a short two-month period.

We agree with the views set forth in the report of the Secretary-General on an orderly and phased downsizing of the United Nations Mission, bearing in mind, of course, further progress in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. We also support the intention of the Secretary-General to submit in his next report a schedule for the drawdown of formed military units of UNAVEM III and his recommendations regarding the role of the United Nations in the further consolidation of the peace process.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): Almost two years ago the Government of Angola and UNITA agreed to a ceasefire and to a process of military and political steps aimed at achieving a durable peace in Angola. They appealed to the international community to assist them to achieve that peace. The Council responded by deploying what is now the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation in the world.

Since then, both sides have worked towards the achievement of a durable peace. This is not an easy process, and we are aware that sacrifices have been demanded of both sides.

Nevertheless, the goals that have to be achieved and the steps needed to reach them are clearly set out in the Lusaka Protocol. The lack of progress over the last three months has cast doubt on UNITA's willingness to abide by their commitments to the peace process.

There are several outstanding issues which we had expected to see resolved by now: the integration of the armed forces, a special status for Mr. Savimbi, the return of all 10 UNITA generals to posts in Luanda, and the return of UNITA Deputies to the National Assembly. But all these issues are still pending. And, while UNITA have quartered in excess of 62,000 troops, the high level of desertions is worrying. UNITA should spare no effort to ensure the immediate return of troops already registered at the quartering sites. It is also important that the orderly demobilization of quartered troops should be undertaken without delay to prevent further desertions and unrest in the camps, and that the process for selecting UNITA troops to be integrated into the Angolan Armed Forces should be accelerated.

UNAVEM III must be able to count on the support of the parties to conduct its work. It is particularly important that the parties cooperate with mine-clearance operations, as some of my colleagues have already pointed out this morning. The reported restrictions on UNAVEM III and on humanitarian demining operations are unacceptable. We are also concerned at reports of more general harassment of the humanitarian organizations in Angola. The parties, particularly UNITA, should make every effort to allow freedom of movement and security for the non-governmental organizations.

The innternational community has invested heavily in this peace process, and is not prepared to see that process fail. We agree with the Secretary-General that continuing delays and unfulfilled promises are unacceptable. A new spirit of cooperation and mutual trust between the parties is essential for the peace process to enter its final phase. We believe that an early meeting between His Excellency President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi should take place to resolve the outstanding matters, and to create an atmosphere of genuine trust between the parties.

In this respect, Mr. Savimbi clearly missed an important opportunity for such a meeting when he failed to attend the Southern African Development Community summit in Luanda on 2 October, and we share the Secretary-General's disappointment at this.

We have listened very carefully to the views of the distinguished Foreign Ministers and other representatives of the Southern African Development Community. We welcome and support their engagement in the Angolan peace process and we share their determination to ensure that UNITA complies with its peace process commitments.

Finally, on the question of the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III, we agree with the Secretary-General that the mandate of UNAVEM III should be renewed only until 11 December 1996.

The Council will no doubt want to send a clear and unmistakable signal regarding the need for progress, and we shall want to consider carefully the various suggestions made in this debate and in other consultations over recent days as to how this is best expressed in a Security Council resolution at this critical juncture.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to extend to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to express our great appreciation to Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral, the Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau, for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

It gives me great pleasure to join other members in welcoming the ministerial delegation from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which honours the Council with its presence here today. The very presence of the delegation signifies the international community's interest in establishing peace in Angola and its grave concern at the slow pace of and stalemate in the peace process. It also indicates great interest in replacing the doubts and suspicion now characterizing the relations between the Angolan parties with constructive relations based on mutual trust, coexistence and respect for the interests of the Angolan people above every other consideration.

The statements made by the SADC Foreign Ministers and other speakers have emphasized the fact that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been disappointing over the last three months because of UNITA's failure to respect its commitments. This is a very serious phenomenon, which cannot be accepted by the international community, whether in Angola, Liberia, the Middle East or any other region. Full commitment to implementation of the spirit and the letter of agreements signed by the parties, with clear evidence of good-will, is the linchpin of the successful implementation of any peace accord. This is what the international community now expects.

The commitments of the two parties in the context of a settlement in Angola are clear and unambiguous. On the one hand, the Government of Angola must complete the quartering of its forces in their camps and to finalize the quartering of the rapid reaction police in designated camps. It must also disarm civilians, ensure that UNITA is involved in decision-making and can assume public office and, finally, ensure that UNAVEM III is able to carry out the functions entrusted to it. It is clear to all that the Government of Angola is honouring its commitments.

On the other hand, UNITA has yet to implement its commitments in a complete and timely manner. These include expediting the quartering of all its combatants, handing over all light and heavy weapons, and withdrawing its police forces from the areas it has evacuated. It must also enable the Government of Angola to extend State administration over all parts of the country without exception, expedite the selection of some 27,000 of its soldiers to be incorporated into the national army and dispatch to Luanda the 10 Generals who are designated to join the Angola Armed Forces. Moreover, it must transform itself into a political party and consider the question of the assumption by one of its leaders of the post of Vice-President offered by President Dos Santos.

In the context of respecting previous commitments, I would like to note once again that Egypt welcomes the many positive steps taken by the Government of Angola; we call on that Government to continue along that path, which will promote mutual trust and prompt the other party to follow its example.

It was a source of concern that the report of the Secretary-General indicated that only 27.4 per cent of the total resources needed to demobilize soldiers, rehabilitate them and reintegrate them into civilian life have been made available. Since more than 100,000 soldiers will be demobilized from both sides, donor States must honour the pledges they made at the Round Table Conference in Brussels last year.

The States of southern Africa have once again proved the ability of regional groupings in Africa to adopt unified policies on a crisis in one of their States and to pursue such policies with persistence and great

effectiveness. This, we believe, is an example that should be followed in Africa and throughout the world.

Today Africa is witnessing regional activities to settle three of the most acute conflicts: in Central Africa, the Arusha summit States are working to resolve the Burundi crisis; in Western Africa, Economic Community of West African States is working to resolve the Liberian crisis; and in Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is working to promote the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, wnich was signed almost two years ago. The phenomenon of the various States throughout Africa tackling crises within their regions deserves the full support and encouragement of the Security Council. The neighbouring States are certainly the ones that pay the price for ongoing conflicts, and they are more capable than others of envisaging how these conflicts can be resolved and of influencing the course of events. The delegation of Egypt therefore supports the demands made by the Ministers and calls upon the international community's representatives in the Security Council to support and encourage these efforts and adopt the necessary draft resolution, as requested by the Ministers.

The delegation of Egypt supports the position that breaking the stalemate in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol depends on UNITA's political will to transform itself into a political party and renounce all activities that might impede the implementation of the peace process. We are also fully convinced that this will happen only if the international community, especially the three troika States, bring suitable pressures to bear.

We are very pleased to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Blondin Beye, and to affirm our full confidence in his work. He stated the other day during a meeting with Security Council members that in spite of the aforementioned obstacles, the United Nations has scored significant successes in Angola, foremost among them halting the bloodshed among the Angolans and the assembling of UNITA forces in camps. I would like to add to this list the success of the United Nations in training in Angolans in mine clearance and the United Nations efforts to rebuild the infrastructure of the country. Such successes are worthy of commendation.

As regards the report of the Secretary-General, the main thrust of which accords with the appraisal of the SADC leaders, I would like to express our support for the extension of the UNAVEM III mandate for two months. We look forward to the Council's adoption of a draft resolution to this effect.

In conclusion, we would like to note that the opportunity available to the Angolan parties, thanks to the presence in their territory of the largest current United Nations peacekeeping mission, should not be squandered. Extending the mission without achieving real progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is a complex and difficult decision, especially since our Organization is experiencing a financial crisis, the acuteness of which is known to all. This places additional responsibility on the Angolan parties to utilize as much as possible the international presence in their territory in such a way as to encourage the international community to continue to provide the humanitarian, technical and economic assistance Angola will need in the coming years. It is high time Africa proved that its causes are not lost causes, as some like to describe them.

Finally, I cannot but express our appreciation for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Maître Blondin Beye, and for the continued efforts of UNAVEM III to achieve lasting peace for our brothers in Angola.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation would like first of all to welcome the ministerial delegation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which requested the holding of this debate. We have listened very attentively to the statements made the by the members of that delegation, who represent the countries of the region. The French delegation shares the concerns the Ministers have just expressed. We understand that these Ministers are expressing the desire, as they stated with such great conviction, to promote within SADC both development and democracy in southern Africa.

Nearly 10 years ago southern Africa was still devastated by war and exclusionism. In a decade, immense progress has been achieved thanks to the determination of those who have succeeded in building a better future for themselves and for all of Africa. The United Nations has contributed actively to this development, and as a result, first Namibia and then South Africa and Mozambique have had to go through radical and positive changes, as also happened in other countries in the region. Today we venture to hope that Angola, in turn, is on the way to joining this group of

States that have courageously turned a page in their history.

In Angola a complex process has been going on for several years now. It has been interrupted on several occasions. All hopes today are pinned on the full and complete implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, which was signed by the Angolan Government and UNITA on 15 November 1994. To support these hopes, the international community has committed substantial resources. The United Nations has deployed in the country what is the largest peacekeeping operation now under way. This is why it is imperative that all these efforts succeed.

It is this determination to succeed which today leads us here in the Council to state once again our concerns. The Government of Angola — and we should like to commend it most earnestly for this — has made praiseworthy efforts to meet, sometimes in advance, the obligations incumbent upon it pursuant to the Lusaka Protocol. This attitude, unfortunately, has not been adopted by UNITA.

The French delegation deeply deplores the repeated delays in UNITA's fulfilment of the obligations it has entered into. We call once again on Mr. Savimbi's group to make a priority of fulfilling the military commitments it agreed to quite a few months ago. We have of course taken note with satisfaction of the new commitments UNITA recently made to discharge its obligations. We earnestly hope that this time we will not be disappointed and that this will be made clear by Mr. Jonas Savimbi's actions in the months to come. We earnestly hope, of course, for a meeting between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. In this regard, we note that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Blondin Beye, is present in this Chamber, and we would like to commend the tireless efforts he has made to carry out successfully the peace mission in Angola entrusted to him by the United Nations.

For all these reasons, France is in favour of the Council's renewing, for a period of just two months, the mandate of UNAVEM III, which remains in Angola as a guarantor of peace and stability. France would also like the Council, in the draft resolution it is to adopt between now and 11 October, to take an unambiguous stand in cautioning UNITA.

The French delegation is therefore prepared to give favourable consideration to the proposals submitted to it by the SADC ministerial delegation, including those on the strong warning that, under certain conditions, the imposition of sanctions might be considered.

It goes without saying that the French delegation is also prepared to take into consideration the views of Member States which bear particular responsibility for this item. It would support any draft resolution acceptable to the members of the Southern African Development Community, who are interested above all in a final settlement to the Angolan conflict.

Mr. Larraín (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, allow me to thank you, Sir, for convening this debate on Angola, at a crucial stage of the peace process of that country. We would also like to thank the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for having requested today's meeting of the Council.

In addition to the invaluable contributions of the Foreign Ministers of SADC, the Secretary-General has submitted an excellent report on recent events in Angola. We welcome that report, as well as the efforts of his Special Representative to ensure that the final phase of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) will be successfully concluded. We would also like to express our thanks to the troika of observer States for their political work of recent days to overcome existing problems.

The peace process in Angola is at a critical juncture and that is why delays in the political negotiations in recent months have caused widespread alarm. We have received with deep concern news of the rejection of the offer made by President Dos Santos to the UNITA leader of one of the two vice-presidential posts. It is unfortunate that such a sensitive matter — one on which agreement already existed — was not handled in such a way as to place the country before the interests of UNITA.

The extremely tense political climate resulting from this fact jeopardizes the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation in the world. We believe that the "Mediation Document" has been an important and timely contribution in restoring confidence and easing the deadlock. However, the lack of receptivity to its proposals — demonstrated by non-compliance with suggested timetables for the adoption of concrete measures — reflects unutterable contempt for this new effort of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and observer countries.

In the light of all this, it is obvious that the fifth meeting between President Dos Santos and the leader of UNITA is of particular importance. The Council must take measures to ensure that the leader of UNITA attend that meeting, since it has been his practice not to attend meetings to which he has been invited. The most recent demonstration of his lack of interest was his absence at the recent summit convened by SADC members in a praiseworthy attempt to promote progress in the peace process.

The process of demobilization and reintegration requires financing, since only 27.4 per cent of the budget is currently covered, and if new contributions are not received, the process will be paralysed. Support from the donor community is also necessary for rehabilitating high-priority projects to absorb the large number of refugees, displaced persons and ex-combatants. The international community is completely justified in calling for a show of political will successfully to conclude the peace process in Angola on the part of those leaders who bear the unshirkable responsibility to ensure improved living standards for those who have suffered most from this civil war: the people of Angola.

The economic and social challenges before Angola are of such magnitude that they require the efforts of all of its inhabitants and leaders. That is why the Government and, in particular, UNITA, must increase their efforts to consolidate peace, as that is the only way to elicit the contributions needed from the international community to overcome this lengthy crisis in Angola.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): First of all, let me extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that your presidency will ensure a successful outcome of the Council's work.

I also wish to thank the President of the Security Council for the month of September, Ambassador Cabral, for his substantial contribution to the work of the Council.

This is not the first time that the Polish delegation is joining other speakers to express our deepest concern at what is going on in Angola. As on previous occasions, we wish to make it absolutely clear that we are not satisfied with the current situation in this country. We continue to think that the parties to the conflict could and should do better.

The report of the Secretary-General, for which we are very grateful and highly appreciative, draws a very clear picture of the situation in Angola. With the military aspects of the Lusaka Protocol largely unfulfilled by the UNITA leadership, the parties in Angola are still far from taking substantial steps towards political normalization, as stipulated in the agreements they signed almost two years ago. I would refrain from referring in detail to all of the frequent cases of UNITA's non-compliance with its obligations. But some elements need to be mentioned in this context because they raise doubts about the intentions of UNITA with regard to the process of national reconciliation.

The delayed arrival in Luanda of all UNITA generals assigned to the Angolan Armed Forces; problems with the selection of UNITA soldiers for incorporation into these Forces; the high level of desertions from the quartering areas; and the poor quality of arms handed over to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) cannot but arouse our concern. It is also regrettable that the UNITA leader, Mr. Savimbi, refused to accept the post of Vice-President and failed to attend the recent summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In our view such an approach further undermines confidence, which is already in short supply in Angola. All of this, aside from exposing the country to enormous risks, may also lead the international community to revise its multidimensional involvement in the peace process in Angola.

By extending in the past the mandate of UNAVEM III by short increments of time, the Security Council made it clear over and over again that the patience of the international community is not inexhaustible. Having examined the report of the Secretary-General, I cannot but conclude that these signals continue to be largely ignored. Having said this, my delegation also wishes to stress that there are circumstances which, in our opinion, make further decisive progress in the Angolan peace process still possible. I am referring in the first place to the parties' apparent willingness to follow the political path of resolving the conflict and their intentions to continue negotiations.

I would also like to refer to the activities of the SADC countries and their involvement in the Angolan peace process. We consider them to be a very positive indication of growing regional engagement in the promotion of peace and national reconciliation in countries seized by internal conflicts. I would like to take

this opportunity to welcome the Foreign Ministers of Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana and Mozambique and to tell them how much my delegation appreciates their views and in-depth analyses of the situation in Angola.

In a matter of hours, the Security Council will decide on the extension of the UNAVEM III mandate. My delegation is inclined to agree with the proposal to extend the operation's mandate by another two months on the assumption that the UNITA leadership will demonstrate its sincerity about the peace process by fulfilling its long overdue obligations concerning the military aspects of the Lusaka Protocol.

We remain optimistic. My delegation believes that the UNITA leadership will not fail to understand the message we are about to send. We consider this to be their obligation not only to the international community but also, and above all, to the people of Angola and the whole region.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Poland for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Honduras.

My delegation wishes to express its concern at the lack of progress achieved in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and the timetable agreed by the parties, as well as at the mistrust between the Angolan Government and UNITA, factors that continue to jeopardize the achievement of lasting peace in Angola.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, in cooperation with the representatives of the three observer States, and of the States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to accelerate implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, as well as the repeated appeals of the international community to the parties to fulfil their commitments, there have been delays attributable to one of the parties.

Although the observance of the ceasefire throughout most of Angola is a positive sign, my delegation considers that limited compliance with outstanding military and political issues has had a negative impact on the Angolan peace process. In particular, my delegation is concerned about the delays in implementing the agreed timetables for completing the quartering and disarming of UNITA forces, incorporating those forces into the Angolan Armed Forces under the National Programme for Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants, disarming the civilian population and extending State administration throughout the country. We are also concerned at the lack of solutions to some of the pending political issues in the Lusaka Protocol, such as the return of UNITA members of Parliament who left in 1992, the reintegration of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation and the granting of special status or position to the leader of UNITA.

In general terms, my delegation views the political, military, economic and social situations in Angola, as discouraging. Until the parties, and UNITA in particular, fully implement the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and fulfil the commitments made at Libreville, Gabon, on 1 March 1996, we feel that there can be no lasting solution to the Angolan problem. The leaders of UNITA must show that they are acting in good faith and that they have the political will to meet their commitments to causing no further delays in the peace process. As on previous occasions in the Council, my delegation appeals to them to meet their obligations forthwith and to take the necessary remedial measures. At the same time, we welcome the steadfast political will of the Government of Angola to find a solution through dialogue to all the problems related to reconciling all Angolans, with a view to preserving the stability and unity of the country. We urge both parties to meet as soon as possible to settle all outstanding questions.

My delegation is also aware of the serious social and economic crisis in Angola, which requires immediate assistance from international financial institutions and the support of donor countries. The rehabilitation of war-devastated communities, the rebuilding of Angola's national economy and the demobilization and social reintegration of some 100,000 ex-combatants are prerequisites to a restoration of peace in Angola. It would be unfortunate were a lack of support for the peace process to affect international assistance.

Lastly, my delegation wishes to acknowledge the important work done by the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) in all its observer and verification activities, its human-rights training for quartered UNITA soldiers and its valuable contribution to demining and road restoration. We believe that, in the current situation in Angola, the presence of UNAVEM III continues to be necessary to consolidating the peace

process. Accordingly, we support the Secretary-General's recommendation in his report to extend its mandate.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are still a number of speakers on my list. However, given the lateness of the hour, I now propose, with the consent of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.40 p.m. and resumed at 3.25 p.m.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lesotho, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mangoaela (Lesotho) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, His Excellency Mr. José Lamego. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamego (Portugal): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month and to pay tribute to the productive term of your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral.

I would like to salute the Foreign Ministers and other members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) delegation, whose presence here today reflects the importance that organization attaches to bringing peace to Angola.

I would like to extend a very cordial greeting to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura.

In the course of this debate, the representative of Ireland will make a statement on behalf of the European Union. Portugal associates itself fully with that statement. Nevertheless, I would like to make some remarks concerning the situation in Angola, not only because we are a member of the troika of observer States but also because of Portugal's long-standing commitment to the Angolan peace process and to Angola itself.

Portugal is naturally concerned over the absence of significant progress in the implementation of the peace process due to the constant delays and promises not fulfilled. It is now imperative that positive signs of political will be shown in order to accelerate the peace process. We therefore urge UNITA to integrate into the national armed forces the last remaining group of its generals, as well as to increase the number of UNITA soldiers incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces. These steps will constitute a positive action by UNITA, but they must be followed by the completion of a broader number of tasks, as enumerated in the mediation document prepared by the Secretary-General's Special Representative. In fact, UNITA and its leadership must now demonstrate to the international community that they do not merely take measures on the eve of the adoption of Security Council resolutions, but are committed to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol by fulfilling their commitments at a steady pace.

We note with concern the increasing number of desertions in the quartering areas and the reports that such desertions are not spontaneous but, on the contrary, that they occur in an organized manner. We urge UNITA to proceed with the return to the National Assembly of all elected Deputies before the end of October. In this regard, we would like to underline the importance and the legitimacy of the normal functioning of the bodies, following the 1992 elections, until conditions for holding new elections in Angola are met. Until those conditions are met, it is important that the international community continue to fulfil its pledges to provide assistance to Angola. At the same time, the Angolan parties, which are ultimately responsible for the successful implementation of the peace process, must show clear signs that they are worthy of such assistance. That is why Portugal welcomes the efforts of the Government of Angola to implement the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and expects that both the Government and UNITA, in a spirit of cooperation, will uphold their obligations and the commitments they made.

Almost two years have passed since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. As the report of the Secretary-General rightly indicates, its implementation is far behind schedule despite the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the observer States and other Member States concerned.

I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my Government for the tireless and committed work of the Special Representative, Maître Beye, throughout the critical stages of the peace process. UNAVEM III, currently the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation, has also shown itself to be a key element in fostering the much-needed trust between the parties concerned and in promoting the stability the Angolans so rightfully deserve, which is why we believe it is so important. It is therefore crucial that there be a continued and effective presence of the United Nations in Angola.

Portugal will continue to work closely and in a spirit of unity with its partners in the troika of observer countries in order to make the Angolan peace process a reality. Nevertheless, I must once again recall that the Government of Angola and UNITA bear ultimate responsibility for the success of the peace process. Now, more than ever, it is time for them, and especially UNITA, to show that they are clearly willing to implement fully the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol. The failure to do so would constitute a serious setback in the international community's expectations for a successful conclusion of the Angolan peace process.

At such a crucial stage, the Security Council should, in the absence of substantial progress in the remaining military and political issues to be resolved, be prepared to consider the imposition of measures. However, we believe that the implementation of such measures should be decided upon only after a further evaluation of the situation by the Council following the next report of the Secretary-General.

We believe that the expeditious fulfilment of the above-mentioned provisions is a priority and will pave the way for the successful completion of the Angolan peace process so desired and deserved by the Angolan people.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The civil war in Angola has gone on for too long, at enormous cost to the country. The fratricidal conflict has caused thousands of deaths and resulted in considerable material damage that has sapped the fragile economy and diverted energy from economic and social development. We have had a generation of Angolans who have known nothing but war, starting from the struggle for independence. Angola, a country that is well endowed with human and natural resources, has never had the peace and stability necessary to develop its vast potentials for the fulfilment of the socio-economic aspirations of its people. Instead of having one of the greatest economies of Africa, Angola is today one of the least developed countries in the world.

It was unfortunate that the cold war exacerbated and for so long prevented a resolution of this conflict. The cold war ended over five years ago, and the peace dividends have reached southern African countries such as, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa. Sadly this is taking a very long time to occur in Angola.

In recent years, the relatively positive developments in Angola, along with the active support and participation of the international community, particularly the United Nations, the troika of observer States, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and neighbouring States, have produced the framework for a peaceful resolution of the crisis. The Lusaka Protocol of 4 November 1994, a product of painstaking and arduous negotiations, provides the basis for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. And we have devoted a lot of political efforts and financial resources, including the deployment of the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation today, towards the full implementation and realization of the provisions of the Protocol.

Regrettably, however, the Angolan peace process is being implemented in fits and starts, largely due to the continued intransigence of UNITA. The latest report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola, for which we are grateful, contains a catalogue of broken promises, half-hearted implementation and non-compliance, mostly if not entirely by UNITA, of the obligations assumed under the peace accords, particularly the Lusaka Protocol. The string of breaches and violations have accumulated to a point where the Secretary-General, in his latest report, observed that UNITA must now decide whether it will implement in good faith all its commitments under the peace agreements. This observation, although in the characteristically restrained Secretariat tone, raises serious concerns for my delegation, including grave doubts about whether the UNITA leadership genuinely

intends to help remove the last blight of conflict from that part of Africa.

The people of Angola and the entire southern African region expect and earnestly hope for peace, and rightly so. The international community has also expended considerable resources and continues to do so, and thus can legitimately insist that nothing should be allowed to jeopardize the commendable and considerable gains that have been made in the peace process. We have undoubtedly witnessed many positive developments and tremendous progress in the peace process, in spite of the grudging compliance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, usually after protracted delays and last-minute concessions.

For example, the ceasefire has generally been holding, and the process of quartering UNITA troops has been largely accomplished. So too is the quartering of the rapid reaction police of the Government of Angola, the promulgation of the amnesty law, the demining of roads and the expansion of humanitarian assistance coverage. There have been four important face-to-face talks between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, in addition to a series of high-level contacts and interactions between the civilian and military officials of both sides. These are no mean achievements considering where we were in 1992 and 1993. Unfortunately, the peace process is well behind schedule; the continuing stalemate is very worrisome. While the Government of Angola has continued to bend over backwards to fulfil its side of the bargain and accommodate the concerns of UNITA, we note with grave concern the continuing delays by UNITA in fulfilling its obligations in line with the Lusaka Protocol, *inter alia* by failing to hand over heavy weapons to United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), procrastinating on the incorporation of UNITA troops into the unified Angolan Armed Forces, obstructing the extension of State administration throughout the country, and restricting UNAVEM III activities, including demining operations.

Faced with this situation and in keeping with the increasing involvement of regional and subregional organizations in the resolution of conflicts in their respective areas, we note with satisfaction the outcome of the recent meeting of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, held on 2 October, which considered the critical situation in Angola, particularly ways of energizing and reinvigorating the peace process. We share the disappointment of the Secretary-General over the absence of Mr. Savimbi from that meeting, and regret the opportunity that was missed for a face-to-face dialogue with President Dos Santos.

We therefore call on UNITA to respond positively and promptly to all the appeals that have been made to it by well-meaning African and other world leaders. We equally call on those with leverage with the Angolan parties and bearing special responsibility for the events in Angola to bring their weight to bear in favour of full cooperation with the peace process by both parties, particularly UNITA. In this regard, we note with special delight the continued declared commitment of UNITA to the peace process and the Lusaka Protocol. My Government therefore urges Mr. Savimbi to take steps, as a matter of urgency, to bring up to date UNITA's implementation of the key military and political issues, including UNITA's contributions to the formation of a new FAA, the inclusion of UNITA generals in the armed forces high command, the return of UNITA deputies to Lusaka and the acceptance of a position within the Angolan Government. It is also important for there to be another meeting between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi as soon as possible.

We have listened to the briefing of the SADC Foreign Ministers, and while we believe that further pressure should be brought to bear on UNITA to deliver on its commitments, we would want a little more time to be given to enable the UNITA leadership to restore our faith in its expressed desire for peace. However, failure on its part to respond accordingly would lead my delegation to support the new additional measures that have been proposed by SADC, including the strict compliance with and implementation by Member States of the measures contained in section B of resolution 864 (1993). We remain hopeful, however, that UNITA and Mr. Savimbi will make the imposition of those measures unnecessary by implementing, in good faith and without further delay, all their commitments under the various peace agreements. The international community demands this of Mr. Savimbi. The people of Angola, and indeed all of Africa, desperately hope for such a positive response.

Concerning the renewal of the mandate of UNAVEM III, while my delegation does not usually favour short periods of renewal for ongoing United Nations undertakings, in this instance we see some merit in the recommendation of the Secretary-General for a two-month renewal so as to keep the pressure on the parties, in particular UNITA.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kasanda (Zambia): Mr. President, I join other delegations in expressing appreciation for the leadership you are providing to the Security Council during the month of October.

The Zambian delegation shares the grave concerns of the international community about the critical situation in Angola. We are particularly concerned that UNITA seems to be fostering a negative climate in that country that stands in the way of national reconciliation and the formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation under the terms of the 1994 Lusaka Protocol. The results of the UNITA Congress held on 28 August 1996, which, *inter alia*, rejected the Angolan Government's offer of the position of Vice-President to Mr. Jonas Savimbi under a Government of National Unity; the unexplained absence of Mr. Jonas Savimbi from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) summit on Angola, held in Luanda on 2 October 1996; the unfilled UNITA quotas in the Angolan national army that is being formed; these among other things are all unfulfilled obligations on the part of UNITA under the Lusaka Protocol.

At this stage of emerging uncertainty on the future direction of the Angolan peace process, the international community, through the Security Council, should unequivocally urge Mr. Savimbi and the other UNITA leaders to be more resolute in the implementation of the commitments made in the Lusaka Protocol. There is also a need to send a clear signal that failure by UNITA to honour these commitments will be considered a threat to the peace and security of Angola that could undermine the work of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). It should be recalled that the Security Council has in the past taken decisive steps to secure UNITA's compliance in the Angolan peace process, such as those contained in section B of Security Council resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993. This is the time for the Security Council to enforce those measures comprehensively.

As we have already heard, there are many pending issues that need to be resolved to facilitate the Angolan peace process. In the view of my delegation, these issues are not insurmountable, if only we secure the unreserved cooperation of UNITA. For example, conditions that seem to contribute to desertions in the quartering process could be removed with appropriate intervention. Similarly we are hopeful that UNITA, with political will, can meet its quotas in the Angolan national army that is being created.

It will be recalled that the UNITA leader, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, was absent from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) summit on Angola of 2 October 1996. In spite of this unexplained absence, the leaders of southern Africa will continue their efforts to secure durable peace in Angola. It can only be hoped that Mr. Savimbi will not fail to attend future summits, in order to ensure that the Angolan peace process is consolidated.

I would like to express words of thanks to Maître Alioune Blondin Beye and the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, namely Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, who have worked tirelessly to keep the Angolan peace process on track.

Finally, I would like to express the hope that UNITA will this time heed the unanimous call from the international community to honour its obligations freely entered into under the Lusaka Protocol.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I would like, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month and to wish you every success in the accomplishment of your important task. My congratulations go also to your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, who carried out excellent work last month.

I would like to take this opportunity to welcome the presence here of the ministerial delegation of States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC's considerable efforts for the restoration of peace in Angola will strengthen all actions taken in this regard, whether by the troika countries, by the United Nations, or, particularly, by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In February 1994, the Organization of African Unity took the initiative to dispatch a ministerial mission in which Tunisia took part in its capacity as the then president of the Organization. Its objective at the time was to make the members of the Security Council aware of the need to establish the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). The OAU has continuously followed developments in the situation and has engaged in many actions aimed at achieving peace in Angola. The last OAU summit meeting, held at Yaoundé in July 1996, which considered this question, illustrated the concern and ongoing interest of African Heads of State in a speedy and permanent settlement of the Angolan conflict.

The peace process in Angola unfortunately continues to experience delays in the implementation of the final stages of the Lusaka Protocol. This has created a disturbing situation in terms of consolidation of the progress achieved thus far and of the continuation of the actions necessary for the country's return to normalcy.

The quartering of UNITA troops has not yet been completed. Moreover, desertions from the ranks of quartered UNITA soldiers have recently increased, destroying in part what had been achieved. It goes without saying that the prolongation of the quartering period increases the financial burden incurred in housing the people involved. The completion of the establishment of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) through the incorporation of UNITA soldiers also continues to experience delays, arousing suspicion and doubt. It is clear that such a climate is hardly conducive to progress in the peace process.

Other problems persist, with regard, for example, to the extension of State administration throughout the territory, the unimpeded continuation of mine clearance, humanitarian activities and the operations of UNAVEM III, and difficulties connected with the demobilization and reintegration of troops.

It is unnecessary to underscore that the political will of the two parties to make progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is a fundamental element in this process, and that the strengthening of trust between them is more necessary than ever for the earliest possible implementation of the stages yet to be completed.

We welcome the efforts of the SADC countries, which tried to arrange a meeting between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi on the occasion of the summit of Heads of State of southern Africa, held on 2 October. We regret that Mr. Savimbi did not feel obliged to attend that summit. This meant that another valuable opportunity to find solutions to pending problems was lost.

Despite the observance of the of the ceasefire, the delays in the peace process in Angola only add to the suffering of the people and increase the expenses involved in the implementation of the agreements reached and in the economic and social recovery of the country. This is all the more disquieting and alarming as we near the end of the UNAVEM III mandate.

It is particularly urgent for UNITA to demonstrate a sincere and resolute willingness to fulfil all its commitments, especially with regard to the immediate dispatch of all its generals to Luanda for their incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces, the return of deserters to the quartering areas and the speedy selection of the soldiers to be incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces.

In this connection, a meeting as soon as possible between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi would be of great help in ironing out difficulties and dispelling any doubts which continue to impede the complete implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

My delegation can only support the action taken by the SADC countries and hopes that the Security Council will take the measures needed to compel UNITA to honour its commitments so as to ensure the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the establishment of lasting peace in Angola and stability in the region.

The pursuit and intensification of diplomatic and humanitarian efforts are also prerequisites for an improvement in the situation and the relaxation of tensions in Angola. Similarly, the international community has been called upon to increase assistance to that country in view of the urgent needs related to its recovery and reconstruction.

Humanitarian organizations should also be strongly encouraged and supported in their efforts in this regard.

Finally, I cannot but commend the personnel of UNAVEM III and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, for their devotion and the sacrifices they have made in the interests of restoring peace in Angola.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Campbell (Ireland): Mr. President, allow me to offer you my congratulations and pay tribute to your leadership as you have assumed the presidency of the Council.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The following associated countries, Cyprus — the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — have aligned themselves with this statement. Iceland and Norway also wish to align themselves with this statement.

For all too many years, the conflict in Angola has drained the resources of the country and brought destruction and deprivation to its people.

With the signing of the Lusaka Protocol and the establishment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), the opportunity has at last been given to the Angolan people to reclaim a society free from the ravages of war and open to the economic development and progress which they so richly deserve. The international community attaches the greatest importance to seeing this process put in place and brought to a successful conclusion. It is for this reason that the European Union urges that commitments entered into under the peace Accords, the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions be honoured. The Union reminds UNITA in particular that the quartering of troops, their demobilization and disarmament, as well as the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, are crucial components of the peace process and must be adhered to in full and without further delay. This includes the return of the deserters to quartering areas.

It is with great concern that the European Union has received the latest progress report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM III. The Secretary-General states that the progress achieved towards the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been disappointing. It is clear that the implementation process is substantially behind schedule and that the lack of mutual trust between the Government and UNITA continues to jeopardize the attainment of lasting peace.

It is essential that no effort be spared to ensure the early formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation. We accordingly call most ardently on UNITA and its leader to respond more rapidly to the demands of their own people and of the international community as a whole, and to fulfil the terms of the agreements which they have freely entered into. As this debate clearly demonstrates, UNITA bears the main responsibility for the problems arising at this crucial juncture in the peace process. The European Union will be following closely any action which the Security Council may decide to take in this regard.

The European Union stands ready to assist the long-suffering people of Angola and is confident that the international community as a whole will not be found wanting in this regard. The European Union and its member States have already provided considerable amounts of humanitarian, reconstruction and development aid over the years and can be counted upon to continue to respond as specific needs are identified. Recent security incidents involving humanitarian organizations have hampered the delivery of humanitarian aid and are a source of great concern. The security of international personnel must be guaranteed.

Another matter of particular concern to the European Union — and indeed, to the entire international community, and, of course, first and foremost to all Angolans — is the widespread presence of anti-personnel land-mines throughout much of Angola. We are gratified that UNAVEM III has accomplished so much already with regard to demining, but we call earnestly for an acceleration of the programme. The European Union and its member States have been among those that have provided significant political and financial support for these activities. We therefore view with the greatest concern the obstacles which UNITA has been putting in the way of the demining operations.

The European Union wishes to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the efforts of the Southern African Development Community, whose leaders met in Luanda last week and whose Foreign Ministers we are pleased to see participating in the debate in this Chamber today. We also acknowledge the contributions of the three observer States — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States — which have done so much to bring the peace process to its present stage, and of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Maître Blondin Beye, whose untiring efforts are so valued by all.

The European Union furthermore recognizes the vital role of UNAVEM III in support of the peace process and wishes to express its appreciation to the troop-contributing countries, without whose participation UNAVEM III would not be in a position to undertake its important work.

In conclusion, the European Union joins with others in stressing that the peace process in Angola can be successful only if the leaders of the Angolan people themselves exert the political will to follow through on their commitments and obligations. An essential element on their part must be a firm resolve to see the consolidation of peace as the paramount objective.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Ireland for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table to make his statement.

Mr. Shah (India): Mr. President, it gives us great pleasure to see you preside over the Security Council as it discusses an issue as important as the future of the peace process in Angola.

We are deeply grateful to the ministerial delegation from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for its briefing and assessment of the current situation in Angola. We have the comprehensive and thoughtful report of the Secretary-General, contained in document S/1996/827 of 4 October 1996.

I would also like to place on record our appreciation for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Ambassador Blondin Beye, who only a couple of days ago provided detailed information to the troop-contributing countries.

This meeting of the Security Council is not merely about the question of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). It is about a clear signal being sent by the United Nations and the international community regarding the need for scrupulous adherence to the Lusaka Protocol of November 1994 and the restoration of peace and amity in Angola. This would also enable the implementation of much-needed joint regional development initiatives.

The United Nations commitment to implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was reflected in the establishment of UNAVEM III. The largest peacekeeping operation currently mandated by the Security Council, it is to complete its mandate by 8 February 1997. We had therefore expected that by now peace and stability would have been restored to Angola and that the process of national reconciliation and post-conflict peace-building would have been firmly set in motion.

Unfortunately, the Secretary-General in his report provides a rather disconcerting picture when he states that

> "the progress achieved towards the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been disappointing." (*S/1997/827, para. 2*)

He has listed a host of military and political issues that remain unfulfilled. In the political sphere tangible progress needs to be seen on issues relating to the special status of the President of UNITA, the extension of State administration throughout the country, the return of UNITA deputies to the National Assembly, the formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, and the assumption by UNITA officials of their posts at the national, provincial and other levels. We note that since the release of the Secretary-General's report there has been some movement in some of these areas. This appears to be reflective only of what the Secretary-General has characterized as a pattern of "grudging compliance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, with protracted delays and last-minute concessions." (*ibid., para. 41*)

In the military sphere, while the quartering of the UNITA troops is nearly complete, it is a matter of concern that as many as 30 per cent of the quartered have deserted. In addition, as many as 40 per cent of the troops were quartered without weapons. These factors, coupled with the inability of five of the 10 UNITA generals to join the Angolan Armed Forces and the procrastination of UNITA personnel in joining those Forces, raise legitimate concerns about the intentions of UNITA.

It is our view that dialogue between the parties concerned is the best way to sort these issues out. We commend the initiative taken by the Southern Africa Development Community in convening the Luanda meeting of 2 October, to which the leader of UNITA was invited. UNITA's non-participation was most regrettable. We share the Secretary-General's hope that a meeting between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi can be

held in the near future, and we join in the appeal to this effect made by SADC.

Angola requires not only peace and stability but also the support of the international community for its long-term socio-economic development as well as for the task of integrating an estimated 100,000 ex-combatants into the civilian sector. The financial commitment of $70 million by the Government of Angola needs to be supported by the donor community. The pledges made at the 1995 Brussels Round Table Conference should be fulfilled.

India's commitment to peace and stability in Angola is demonstrated by the fact that we have provided more than 1,100 troops to UNAVEM III. It is a matter of pride that Indian troops have been able to assist in all aspects of the implementation of the mandate, whether it be in traditional peacekeeping roles, in operational demining and bridge-building, or support for the developmental needs of local communities. As a measure of their humble commitment to the common people of Angola, Indian troops have voluntarily shared their regular rations with the people of the areas in which they have been stationed.

The message that we would like the Security Council to convey is that the commitment of the international community to restore peace in Angola is firm. However, such a commitment requires at least an equal response from all parties concerned. In the latter context, at this stage a clear signal needs to be sent that the international community expects in particular UNITA to fulfil all the commitments it has voluntarily entered into.

The members of SADC have, through their summit of 2 October 1996, expressed their commitment to assist in the peace process in Angola. In its deliberations the Council should seriously take into account the proposals made by the summit before arriving at any final decision. My delegation also associates itself with the statement issued earlier today by the Non-Aligned Movement on the peace process in Angola.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate once again that the international community's commitment to the restoration of peace and stability in Angola should not waver.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abdullah (Malaysia): Allow me, Sir, to express my delegation's congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Your diplomatic skill and wisdom will no doubt ensure the successful conclusion of the deliberations of the Council. I should like also to extend my delegation's deep appreciation to Ambassador Cabral of Guinea-Bissau for his able stewardship of the Council for the month of September. I also acknowledge the presence of the ministerial delegation from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Southern African Development Community countries to have an open debate on the situation in Angola in the Security Council. Malaysia has always maintained that it is important for the international community to be continuously involved in Angola, in a very active and positive manner, until a concrete and durable solution to the problem in that country is found.

Having gone through a protracted and difficult period of internal strife, the people of Angola surely deserve peace, stability and development in their country. We are concerned that, despite the various efforts undertaken by the international community — both by the United Nations and the countries of the region — the peace process in Angola continues to be stalled. Malaysia had hoped that, following the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994, the Angolan parties would faithfully honour their commitments and work towards constructive relations, based on mutual trust, peaceful coexistence and national reconciliation, so that peace could at last be restored in Angola.

Malaysia is distressed to learn from the Secretary-General's report (S/1996/827) of 4 October 1996 that obligations set forth under the Lusaka Protocol, and various agreements following from it, have not been fully complied with, thereby dampening the prospect for an early solution to the continuing conflict in Angola. It is imperative, therefore, that the parties concerned honour the commitments they entered into under the Lusaka Protocol and work towards national reconciliation. In this regard, we call upon UNITA in particular to help move this process forward. It is our desire to see Angola a united country, abandoning guns and advancing its peoples towards development and prosperity.

The establishment of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation should still remain the objective of the parties concerned, as they themselves realized and

accepted in the Lusaka Protocol. Malaysia fully supports the various efforts undertaken by the international community, in particular those of Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and of the countries of the region, to bring together the parties concerned to work towards a lasting peace and security in Angola.

Although Angola is geographically distant from my country, Malaysia, we have contributed, within our capacity, to international efforts to restore peace in Angola. Malaysia's involvement in Angola began in July 1991, when we dispatched military and civilian police observers to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM), which incidentally is the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation today. Since 1991, we have continued to contribute military and civilian police personnel to this peacekeeping mission. At present Malaysia has 20 military observers, 3 military staff officers and 20 civilian police in UNAVEM III. Malaysia's involvement in UNAVEM is a reflection of our firm support and commitment to the United Nations in its efforts to promote international peace and security. We hope that our peacekeeping forces under the United Nations banner in Angola, like those currently in Western Sahara and Liberia and those previously in the Congo, Mozambique and Somalia, are helping United Nations efforts to restore peace and stability in various troubled spots on the African continent.

Despite all efforts undertaken by the international community, the parties concerned must realize that peace and normalcy can only return to Angola if they seriously commit themselves to work towards national reconciliation. They should avoid mistrust and hostile propaganda, and instead begin to work together to bring peace and security back to their country.

Malaysia will fully support all efforts by the Security Council that can help realize the objective of national unity and national reconciliation in Angola.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, I would like to say how delighted I am at seeing you preside over the work of this important body and to congratulate you warmly. Your great professional and personal skills strengthen my conviction that you will successfully discharge the responsibilities entrusted to you.

I would also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral, Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau, who so brilliantly and effectively steered the work of the Council in a particularly busy month.

This meeting of the Security Council on Angola, enhanced today by the presence and participation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), is taking place at a crucial time in which the process of consolidating peace in that country, devastated by many years of war, requires greater mobilization from the international community to complement the praiseworthy efforts of Angola and the other countries of the region to establish a lasting peace that can open the door to national reconciliation and harmony.

Algeria, which has always supported these efforts, firmly supports the initiative taken by the SADC member countries to bring this matter before the body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, and endorses their assessments, proposals and recommendations aimed at ensuring a return to peace and stability in that brother country.

The positive developments of the last two years have created, with the support and encouragement of the United Nations, the conditions necessary for an end to the crisis. The Lusaka Protocol, signed on 20 November 1994, opened real and promising prospects for lasting peace in Angola, and, through agreed arrangements, provides an appropriate framework for the Angolan people to transcend the causes of a particularly devastating and ravaging conflict and to devote themselves finally to the immense task of national reconstruction.

Today, unfortunately, it seems that the progress that has been achieved could be gravely jeopardized by continuous delays and repeated postponements in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, as the Secretary-General so clearly indicated in his recent report. Suddenly, political prospects are becoming uncertain as doubts and mistrust daily emerge about the

real intentions of UNITA leaders concerning their commitments under the peace accords.

Therefore, as the Secretary-General notes in his report, the challenges now facing the peace process in Angola, essentially boil down to unkept promises on the part of UNITA concerning implementing the successive timetables for the implementation of provisions regarding political and military questions and of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Given the extremely slow pace of the peace process, my delegation can only express its regret and its fears at seeing the efforts made and the sacrifices offered to lay the foundations for a final political settlement called into question because of the persistence of a situation of neither war nor peace in the country, the responsibility for which can be attributed to the UNITA leaders.

My delegation would like to express its full solidarity with the people and the Government of Angola and its firm conviction that they will be able to overcome the difficult trial facing their country.

In the past few years, the United Nations has continuously made considerable efforts to foster a peaceful settlement in Angola through sustained action aimed at establishing a lasting peace, ensuring a return to stability and preserving the unity of the country, and at the same time meeting the conditions for national reconciliation in strict observance of commitments entered into and democratic principles. The great architect of these efforts undertaken on behalf of the Secretary-General is Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, who deserves recognition for his tireless efforts and remarkable devotion in the service of peace in Angola. I wish also to pay tribute to UNAVEM III, in which my country participates, which discharges its lofty mission for peace under often difficult conditions.

The signing of the Lusaka Protocol marked the end of a long, laborious and delicate process aimed at establishing peace in Angola and consolidating stability and security throughout the entire region. The Security Council must therefore act with diligence and determination in considering pending issues and take the measures which are required by the gravity of the situation and which Angola and the other SADC member countries would like to see it adopt.

I must recall that national reconstruction, an essential element of the peace process, requires the mobilization of considerable financial and other resources, which the international community should provide to Angola for the greater good of that country, the region, and world peace and security.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): First of all, let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Under your able and wise guidance, the work of the Security Council will be conducted in a highly effective way. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Alfredo Cabral, for the competence with which he conducted the business of the Council during the difficult month of September.

We would like to pay tribute to the key role played by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, with regard to recent developments in Angola. His Special Representative, Maître Blondin Beye, has been indefatigable in his efforts to consolidate the process. The endeavours of the troika of observer States should also be commended.

The importance of today's meeting is highlighted by the presence of the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as of the Deputy Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Costa Rica. Since the last meeting of the Council on the situation in Angola, the peace process has stalled. We agree with the latest assessment of the Secretary-General that the continuing delays and unfulfilled promises, particularly on the part of UNITA, in implementing the successive timetables for the completion of the key military and political issues are no longer acceptable.

The peace process is losing momentum from both the military and the political points of view. On the military side, the quartering process has yet to be completed. More than 63,000 UNITA personnel have registered at the quartering sites. However, there are doubts about personnel quartered by UNITA and there are disquieting rumors that UNITA's elite troops are still in hiding. The number of desertions from the quartering areas has now reached around 12,000. Moreover, the

quantity and quality of the weapons and ammunition handed over to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) remain low.

The formation of the Angolan Armed Forces has made little progress. Less than 10,000 of the 26,000 UNITA personnel to be incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces have been selected. Five of the UNITA generals who should join those Forces had not arrived in Luanda by 8 October.

On the political side, uneasiness and strain still prevail. In August, the Third Extraordinary Congress of UNITA decided that Mr. Savimbi should not accept one of the vice-presidencies offered by the Government. In spite of efforts to that effect, the fifth meeting between President José Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi could not be convened. We agree with the Secretary-General's assessment that:

> "the failure by Mr. Savimbi to attend the SADC summit held at Luanda on 2 October was unfortunate." *(S/1996/827, para. 42)*

We deeply regret that fact.

Brazil remains fully committed to the peace process in Angola. Two years ago, as the then-Foreign Minister of Brazil, I had the honour to be present at the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. Brazil was the only non-African country represented at the ministerial level on that occasion. Our participation in UNAVEM III as the largest troop contributor is a reflection of a long-term commitment to Angola and its people based on common cultural and historical roots; but it is also a reflection of our desire to help to put an end to one of the oldest conflicts, one that has killed or maimed hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Participation at this level requires considerable financial resources on the part not only of the United Nations but also of Brazil. As has been stated before, patience, as well as resources, has limits.

Taking into account the seriousness of the situation, and considering that we are quickly approaching the date envisaged for the completion of the Mission, the Security Council is facing a great challenge. The Secretary-General recommends the extension of UNAVEM III's mandate for two months. The suggestion of a renewal for a short period reflects the frustration of the international community — which we share — at the systematic procrastination by one of the parties.

A proposal has been presented by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, subscribed by the Heads of State and Government of 11 countries, for the Security Council to adopt measures:

> "within the framework of resolution 864 (1993) ... to oblige UNITA to fully and urgently respect the deadlines established by the Council." *(S/1996/827, para. 9)*

That proposal deserves to be considered with utmost seriousness by the Council in light of the lack of progress in the peace process. The international community cannot allow one party persistently to defy its appeals and the Council's own resolutions.

The situation in Angola is at a critical stage. Unless serious progress is made in several key areas in the short term, UNAVEM III will not be able to fulfil all the tasks assigned to it. It remains in the Council's hands to take the appropriate steps to induce the reluctant party to listen to the voice of reason and to set the peace process back on track.

We have not relinquished the hope aroused by the Lusaka Protocol of seeing a peaceful, united and prosperous Angola.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cape Verde. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Leao Monteiro (Cape Verde)(*interpretation from French*): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October and to express our certainty that, under your guidance, the Council will be successful in its work.

Your predecessor, my brother Ambassador Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, also merits our great thanks for the effective manner in which he discharged his duties during the month of September.

In expressing my pleasure at the opportunity afforded my delegation to participate in this meeting on the situation in Angola, I should also like to thank you

and, through you, the Security Council for having organized it.

We would like to express our special appreciation to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which took the initiative of proposing the meeting. That initiative attests to the growing determination in Africa to give greater impetus to the search for solutions to the problems of our continent.

As an African country, and one that has been especially close to the tragedy of the Angolan people, which has lasted all-too long, Cape Verde hopes that the present SADC initiative in the Council will be successful.

Now that the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) is again being considered, we should like to pay a tribute to the persistent efforts of all of the parties, in particular those of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the representatives of the three observer States, to ensure the success of the peace process in Angola.

The success of the peace process in Angola requires us to help the parties to the conflict — namely the Government of Angola and UNITA — to restore peace and achieve true national reconciliation.

Considerable success has been achieved, as compared to the situation that prevailed not too long ago. We recognize this and are gratified. However, the progress made has been insufficient and erratic. The process has not been sustained and the progress made has proved to be unstable, uneven and, obviously, too slow.

The peace Accords and in particular the Lusaka Protocol, must be implemented scrupulously and forthwith. Delays must be compensated for and confidence reestablished and nurtured between the parties.

With regard to implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, the Secretary-General's report of 4 October 1996 and the UNAVEM III briefing of 23 September inform us of an evident failure on the part of UNITA, in contrast to the very positive conduct of the Angolan Government.

We should therefore congratulate the Government of Angola and encourage it to follow through and to take steps now to compel UNITA to meet all of its commitments. We hope that the proposals to that effect that are before the Security Council will be adopted and implemented.

While we regret the lost opportunity of 2 October 1996 to involve the leader of UNITA in an exercise to build confidence and clarify perspectives, we hope that an upcoming meeting between the Head of State of Angola, His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo Dos Santos, and the President of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, will constitute a stage — perhaps the decisive stage — towards the final resolution of the problem and the rapid implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

It would be wise to be realistic and, taking account of past events, endeavour to avoid the worst. Intense efforts by the political leaders, essential though they may be, cannot end the suffering of the Angolan people — far from it. First, the major problem of the demobilization and social reintegration of more than 100,000 combatants must be dealt with effectively. Furthermore, the return of refugees to the country and of displaced persons to their activities and lands so that they can survive and flourish, are urgent matters.

Other tragic experiences have taught us that such matters must be dealt with in timely fashion. Moreover, this has been acknowledged, and pledges of international support have been given, notably at the Round Table Conference held in Brussels in 1995. However, it cannot be denied that the results have been very disappointing. We must therefore reject the conditioning of assistance on a complete normalization of the situation on the ground. That would be mistake with serious consequences. Financial, technical and material support must always accompany peace efforts, providing credibility, encouragement and real incentive.

Southern Africa is not alone in providing assistance and encouraging international support for the reconstruction of Angola. The entire African continent is engaged in this task.

Once again, we would like to thank you, Mr. President, and express our confidence in the Security Council's wisdom in its deliberations on the question before us today.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cape Verde for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the distinguished Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Costa Rica, His Excellency Mr. Rodrigo Carreras. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Carreras (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour that a countryman from our extended homeland is presiding over the work of this body this month. We would like to extend to you, Mr. President, our heartfelt greetings and congratulations. We would also like to thank Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral of Guinea-Bissau for having provided excellent leadership during the month of September.

During the last decade, Central America suffered the effects of the magnification of age-old socio-economic conflicts, resulting from the global confrontation between the two super-Powers. During that anxious time, the Central American countries themselves, with the support of the international community and the active participation of the United Nations, agreed freely to opt for the peace process known as Esquipulas II, an instrument of our own making that enabled the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America.

Consequently, Costa Rica, a country that was not a party to the conflicts in Central America, but that nonetheless suffered their effects, accords special significance to the agreements and commitments aimed at promoting peace in the subregion of southern Africa, especially the peace process in Angola, which has been developed by the parties to the conflict with great support from friendly countries and the active participation of the United Nations. Costa Rica, which was affected by the wars in Central America 10 years ago, understands clearly the significance and value of the agreements for Angola's neighbours.

For these reasons, Costa Rica has given, and continues to give, its support and backing to the implementation of the peace agreements and, in particular, to the full application of the Lusaka Protocol. In this context, my country would like to emphasize the efforts and the will that have been shown in maintaining the agreed ceasefire. But we would also like to express our concern about the slow pace of implementation and what the Secretary-General has called "the lack of significant progress" (S/1996/827, para. 40) in implementing the Lusaka Protocol. Costa Rica especially regrets to note the recent attitude of UNITA and the absence of Mr. Savimbi at the summit meeting of the States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which was held at Luanda on 2 October, as was reported by the Secretary-General in his most recent report to the Council.

The experience of Central America shows that it is only through strict and transparent adherence to agreements and a firm desire to comply with them, without double standards or false deception, that peace processes can attain their goals. Absolute consistency between what has been agreed and the behaviour of all the parties is essential; otherwise, credibility is shaken, the peace process is weakened and peace becomes unattainable. International pressure is fundamental. Pressure from friendly countries, from the media and public opinion, from the international community and the United Nations is necessary — that has been our experience in Central America.

For its part, Costa Rica urges the parties, especially UNITA, to take specific and decisive action to break the current deadlock and to ensure full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We also reiterate our backing for the of the peace process being provided by the observer States, and especially by the States of southern Africa and Portugal, which is a brotherly country to Ibero-America. In conclusion, we would like to express our appreciation for the activities being carried out by the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) in all aspects of the process, and express our confidence in its ability to fulfil its mission.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Costa Rica for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Malawi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rubadiri (Malawi): About three months ago, in July, when we sat in this very room to consider the Secretary-General's report of 27 June 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), we spoke with feelings of great hope and conviction that the ray of hope at the end of the tunnel would soon be seen in Angola. We will therefore be very brief. We still have that conviction and hope, as the Angolan people have dreams and aspirations to have their misery and suffering ended.

We are disturbed, however, by the gloomy picture that seems to be emerging from that part of our world, as confirmed by the Secretary-General in his report contained in document S/1996/827 of 4 October 1996. The reluctance with which the worthy Mr. Jonas Savimbi and UNITA are implementing the Lusaka Protocol is very disheartening to us in Malawi and to all others in the region.

Malawi attended the summit meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security which was held in Luanda last week. We subscribe fully to each and every paragraph of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of that very important summit. It is particularly regrettable that Mr. Savimbi failed to attend the summit. But we sincerely hope that the Security Council, in its consideration of the Secretary-General's report will take due account of the voices of concern, and at the same time of the commitment to peace, that come out very clearly from the communiqué. The Security Council needs to send a strong and clear message to Mr. Savimbi and UNITA that the international community will no longer tolerate his and UNITA's intransigence.

It was only yesterday, in the general debate of the General Assembly, that my Foreign Minister appealed to Mr. Savimbi to comply fully with the speedy implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We do so again today, if only to echo the cries of a people yearning for peace.

In making this strong appeal, we are always gratified by the good work of the United Nations personnel in Angola. We pay tribute once again to the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, the personnel of UNAVEM III and all the humanitarian workers who have dedicated themselves to the service of peace in Angola. We urge the Security Council, in considering this matter, to remember the good work of these people and not to allow Angola to recede into violence and despair. Angola is a special jewel in the region of SADC, on whose shores, and on the shores of Mozambique at Sofala, stopped those worthies who came first to Africa from Portugal. Southern Africa is a region that is now working hard to stand as an African example of peace, good governance, stability and development. Lasting peace in Angola will enable the region to realize its dream for peace and development as we approach the next century.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, His Excellency Mr. Sevilla Siero. I invite him to take a seat the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sevilla Siero (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First and foremost, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Nicaragua feels honoured to be represented by the fraternal Republic of Honduras. We would also like to congratulate Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral, Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau, on having presided over the Security Council last month.

Nicaragua is participating in the Security Council debate on the situation in Angola because we identify with the Angolan people and are deeply concerned by the situation in that fraternal country, with which we have important bonds of friendship and cooperation. We identify with them because, *inter alia*, just a few years ago Nicaragua, located at the very centre of the American continent, was also a country afflicted by a serious politico-military confrontation that was the focus of world attention. Just a few years ago, our people was the victims of war, of fratricidal struggle, of the destruction of its own economy and of great social upheaval.

Just a few years ago, Nicaragua maintained a large army and devoted a large part of its national budget to meet high military expenditures, to the detriment of its economic and social development. Just a few years ago, many of you, and even we ourselves, were looking with sceptism at the possibility of peace reigning in Nicaragua or of the country enjoying full liberty. We found even more remote the possibility of starting anew on the path towards development and the consolidation of a democratic process without precedent in our political history. At that time, national reconciliation also seemed to be nothing but a Utopian ideal.

Today we can say to our Angolan brothers that in Nicaragua everything that seemed impossible yesterday is today a reality. We had to take a long, hard road, not without its shocks, and the Government of Nicaragua, presided over by Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, has continuously promoted the process of national reconciliation. Just as we have received the support of countries in our region, from the international community and from the United Nations in particular, in the same way, the Angolan people will achieve the objectives laid down in the Lusaka agreements with the support of the United Nations as a whole.

We wished to emphasize here our own experience as an example of optimism and confidence in the peaceful solution of disputes of whatever kind, particularly when the solution is found with the participation of all the parties involved and taking into account the particularities of each case. When there is political will to negotiate, no initiative can fail.

We have read with care and interest the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation in Angola, and after having heard the debate on the situation in that country, we could feel perturbed or sceptical as to whether the various obstacles can be surmounted once and for all. We might think that the United Nations should withdraw from Angola and that the UNAVEM III mandate should not be extended beyond January 1997, both because of the financial costs of the operation and because of the lack of compliance with the commitments entered into.

However, our delegation is optimistic. We believe that if the international community, represented here, were in error, not only would we be denying the progress made but we would also be making it impossible for additional efforts to be made to help the suffering people of Angola, which, after all, bears the brunt of the consequences.

From our own experience, we can say that the road seems to be very hard and the process very complicated. We know that it is not easy to reconcile positions that frequently appear irreconcilable. Nonetheless, we are convinced that both the Government of Angola, presided over by His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo Dos Santos, and Mr. Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA, are aware that in the current world situation, peace, reconciliation and democracy are the sole options for bringing prosperity to our poor nations. There is no option but continuing negotiations until the last obstacle has been removed. However, it is necessary to strengthen confidence-building measures.

Just as peace in Nicaragua served as an example of conflict resolution and the deepening of the democratic process for Central America and the American continent, a totally peaceful Angola on the road to the consolidation of democracy and social and economic development would constitute a significant contribution to the world and the fraternal countries of Africa.

In the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola, we are particularly concerned by the military aspects. As long as compliance with the Lusaka Protocol is not being carried out, within the timetable recommended by the Joint Commission, it will be very difficult to achieve the comprehensive pacification of the country. All Angolans, after so many years of sorrow and waste, must be aware that without lasting peace progress cannot be made towards consolidation of democracy. While important strides have been made in that direction, there must be a more serious commitment to ensuring full respect for the ceasefire, the quartering of the military forces of UNITA and the selection of its soldiers for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces. A country needs a single national body of armed forces that can undertake reconstruction efforts and support humanitarian assistance and demining operations in the territory to put an end, once and for all, to the loss of human life, in particular that of innocent civilians.

In Nicaragua, we know what that means. After years of setbacks, and now on the road leading forward, we are still reconstructing our own infrastructure, clearing roads and demining, and the armed forces of our country are playing an important role in these endeavours. The same can occur in Angola.

For Nicaragua, which stands in solidarity with the people and the Government of Angola, it is important for the Lusaka commitments to be complied with. Efforts have been made. The Government of President Dos Santos has taken specific steps. UNITA, too, has taken important steps, and the international community has stepped up its efforts to build the necessary confidence between the parties. It was in this spirit that the Heads of State of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) invited Mr. Savimbi to attend the meeting that that organization held in Luanda with a view to giving impetus to the peace process in Angola. We believe that now is the time to strengthen confidence and credibility and for both parties to respond to the many efforts made.

Nicaragua, which supports development and peace in Africa, would like to thank the Ministers of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Angola and South Africa for having requested that the Security Council consider the situation in Angola once again. We are convinced that the interest that has motivated these fraternal countries of Africa will serve to help Angola and will ensure that the United Nations participates in the process.

We would like to emphasize that all initiatives must lead to a single goal: the pacification and reconciliation of the Angolan family. We are convinced that the only ones who have suffered the consequences are the people of Angola, towards whom their leaders bear today a greater responsibility than ever.

We appeal to the parties to reflect again upon the economic and social crisis in Angola. No one can govern a country in peace without the cooperation of its people. Only the Angolans themselves can ensure progress in their country.

It is therefore important for the agreements to be fully complied with. In Angola it is important for the leaders of UNITA, in particular, to join in all aspects of the peace process, becoming a part of the armed forces, the Government and, most importantly, the efforts that the Angolan people as a whole is making for its own benefit.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Vice Minisgter for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Burundi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nsanze (Burundi) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. My delegation hopes that your term will be a successful one.

(*spoke in French*)

During the month of September, Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral presided over the Security Council and with outstanding brio. My delegation wishes to congratulate him for the manner in which he carried out his tasks.

Despite the grave crisis my country has been experiencing for almost three years, the Republic of Burundi, which my delegation has the privilege of representing here, has carefully followed developments in the political situation in the fraternal and friendly country of Angola. My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the remarkable efforts made by the international community to assist the Angolan people in putting an end to the fratricidal warfare that has divided and devastated it for over 20 years.

In this regard, the main players — the States members of the Organization of African Unity, its Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, and the United Nations, with the firm support of its many agencies, non-governmental organizations and the various donors — deserve special tribute for their tireless efforts.

Burundi wishes to underscore the special importance of the Lusaka Protocol of 20 November 1994, the result of the very productive mediation of the United Nations in close cooperation with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Angolan political leaders primarily involved.

On behalf of my Government, the delegation of Burundi pays a solemn tribute to all the Heads of State of the region who have come together to tackle the colossal task of restoring peace and security in Angola. For his lofty mission to mediate the successful reconciliation of the Angolan brothers, in his capacity as Special Representative of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye deserves an especially enthusiastic tribute, in particular, from Africa and from the United Nations in general.

The constant political will, commitment and magnanimity of President dos Santos deserves the appreciation of the entire international community. All his efforts and sacrifices have been aimed at bringing the peace process to a successful conclusion, thereby alleviating the untold suffering of the Angolan people and offering new hope to the sons and daughters of his country.

But Burundi, which itself faces armed rebellion from within and beyond its borders, is disturbed over the stalling, ambiguities and delays of UNITA, which is a party to the Lusaka Protocol. These delays could jeopardize and seriously threaten any chances for peace. My Government therefore associates itself with the international community and particularly with the Security Council and the mediation mission, and strongly urges UNITA to proceed without delay to the quartering of all its troops in the areas under United Nations supervision, to hand over all weapons and military equipment still under its control and to proceed with the effective dismantling of all command posts for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces command.

My delegation has good reason to disapprove of UNITA's turnabout. By declining the offer of one of the highest State political posts, that of Vice-President of the Republic, an offer intended to reinforce the spirit of national reconciliation, UNITA is thwarting the anticipated successful outcome. We must therefore demand that the UNITA leaders speedily change their course and scrupulously apply the Lusaka peace Protocol, and that they do their utmost to safeguard the process of national reconciliation.

Full compliance with the Lusaka Protocol includes the rapid settlement of the question of a special status for the President of UNITA, full respect for the free circulation of persons and goods throughout the country, the integration of UNITA members into provincial and local administrations throughout the countries, the

immediate return of UNITA deputies to the National Assembly and, above all, the formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation.

The Security Council must shoulder its responsibilities and make all the signatories of the Lusaka Protocol to abide faithfully by their commitments, entered into before the world and the Angolan nation. The Security Council must be more vigilant in turning things around, putting the peace process back on track and suppressing any manoeuvres indicating a dangerous reversal of the significant progress already achieved on the path to final normalization.

Burundi too draws inspiration from the painful experience of our friends and brothers, the people of Angola, whom we long supported in their legitimate struggle for national liberation. Indeed, the people of Burundi has been confronted with a civil war imposed upon it by armed groups and militias since the outbreak of our national tragedy in October 1993. With a view to restoring complete peace and security, the Government of Burundi has resolutely committed itself to negotiations with all groups, including armed factions. One month has already elapsed since the reestablishment of our National Assembly, the restoration of the rights and functions of political parties and the public commitment of the Government to engage in talks with the rebels guilty of large-scale massacres of an innocent people; all this is in line with our policy of national reconciliation and democratization.

On 24 September, I informed the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of my Government's complete implementation of the conditions used by the countries of our region as a pretext to impose immoral, illegal sanctions, in flagrant violation of the Charters of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. This total economic blockade is ravaging the population, in particular the most vulnerable categories: women, children, the old and the sick. Burundi has fulfilled all the conditions set by the architects of the embargo and those outlined in Security Council resolution 1072 (1996) of 30 August; therefore, any further pretext for maintaining these measures can only be dictated by other motives, by a hidden agenda on the part of those who favour the status quo. Here the destinies of the Governments of Angola and of Burundi coincide. Both are victims of their complete compliance with the appeals of the international community and with Security Council resolutions, since they are being penalized because of the obstructions of rebels who violate with impunity their commitments, which remain dead letters. The Security Council must remedy this state of affairs by obliging the recalcitrant parties to abide by Security Council resolutions.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Burundi for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are honoured and pleased that Honduras, a part of our America, is presiding over the Security Council. I would like to congratulate you, Sir, and to wish you success during your term of office. I would also like to thank Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral for his contribution during his effective presidency last month.

My delegation is participating in this debate, requested by the leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) at its meeting held in Lusaka on 2 October 1996. The position of the ministerial group appointed by the 12 members of SADC to represent them was explained yesterday to the bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement by the chairman of the group, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Stanislaus I. G. Mudenge, and reaffirmed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio de Moura.

Cuba shares the concern of the African continent and the international community over the critical situation in Angola: the deadlock in the peace process and UNITA's non-compliance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol.

It is unfortunate that the head of UNITA, Mr. Savimbi, did not attend the meeting organized by the leaders of SADC. This constitutes further proof of the absence of political will in the leadership of that party to contribute to a negotiated solution to the conflict in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

The Angolan Government and UNITA have assumed — before Africa and the international community — the responsibility to promote and achieve national reconciliation in Angola. It is necessary and right

to recognize the sustained and flexible efforts of the legitimate Government of Angola to achieve these objectives. After genuine elections and a clear victory by the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola, and after so much has been done to promote dialogue and negotiation, it has become clear that UNITA has totally failed to meet its responsibilities and obligations. Recent events have plainly demonstrated that the legitimate Government of Angola can in no way be placed on an equal footing with UNITA, not only because of that group's well- known past, but because of its current illegal activities, which merit clear condemnation.

Cuba wishes to reiterate its full support for the Angolan Government and to reaffirm that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Angola must be respected.

The international community has met its responsibility with regard to the peace process in Angola. The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) is currently the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation in the world. Huge financial and human resources are devoted to this operation. However, one of the parties to the conflict, UNITA, has failed in its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and continues to hamper and jeopardize the peace process.

UNITA's lack of political will towards the peace process in Angola and its unacceptable non-compliance with the Lusaka Protocol — a bilateral instrument of international import and scope — must be condemned with all rigour by the international community.

UNAVEM III's mandate, which was extended until 11 October 1996 by Security Council resolution 1064 (1996) of 11 July 1996, must be reviewed with all due objectivity by this organ. The mandate of that peacekeeping operation will lose its significance if strict, immediate deadlines are not set. When UNITA continues irresponsibly to violate the peace process, UNAVEM III's mandate should not continue to be extended time and again.

Cuba supports the position expressed by the fraternal countries of Africa that this brief extension of UNAVEM III's mandate presupposes political contributions on UNITA's part. If these are not forthcoming, it is obvious that the international community must support whatever paths are taken by the legitimate and sovereign Government of the Republic of Angola in solving this domestic conflict.

We share the concerns expressed by the Secretary-General in his most recent report on the current state of the peace process in Angola, particularly his recommendations on the position the international community should take vis-à-vis UNITA's position and on any future extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III.

The Security Council, through successive resolutions, has made a commitment and assumed an unavoidable responsibility to the peace process in Angola. Cuba hopes that the Security Council will meet its responsibility by responding with decisive and energetic actions to the flagrant non-compliance of UNITA with those resolutions. Any delay, silence or omission would send the wrong message and place the credibility of the Security Council in question. Cuba hopes that, this time, it will act on the basis of a single standard.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mali. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mali is pleased to see the Council working this month under your presidency, Sir. I would like to take this opportunity to express to Ambassador Alfredo Lopes Cabral the great satisfaction of my delegation in the skill and authority with which he presided over the Council last month.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the quality of his report on the question under consideration. It is a clear, exhaustive and very instructive document.

I would also like to pay tribute to the civilian and military personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) for the substantive results they have achieved through their efforts and their support for the head of the Mission, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, our compatriot, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, who has also been emphatically commended by previous speakers. Naturally, these laudatory words cannot leave Mali or its people indifferent. In this connection, I thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on behalf of the Government of Mali. Without his choice and his

confidence, our compatriot would not have been able to achieve the results that all previous speakers have welcomed.

Finally, I wish to welcome the presence among us of the Southern African Development Community Ministers and to thank them for the useful information they have provided.

Since our last meeting on this issue in July, the situation in Angola has been dominated by a certain degree of lethargy, a slow pace and unjustified delays. This only heightens the importance of this meeting, which should initiate the final phase of the peace process. We should recall, however, that significant progress has nevertheless been achieved. A peace accord has been signed to which the signatories have reaffirmed their commitment. Likewise, the ceasefire is holding, to the credit of both parties, and Angola is no longer suffering 1,000 deaths per day.

We cannot fail to commend the praiseworthy efforts that have made it possible to restore confidence through a direct dialogue between Angolans at the meetings in Lusaka, Franceville, Brussels and Libreville. We should also commend the assistance extended to the people and the return of refugees and displaced persons.

Peace, however, is not just the absence of war. With great courage, the Secretary-General highlights in his report the dangers that threaten the peace process and the fragile peace.

In the view of my delegation, the signatories of the Lusaka Protocol must all comply in good faith with the commitments they have undertaken. They should stop breaking their promises and trying the patience of the international community. All necessary measures should be taken by the Security Council in this connection to accompany the ongoing peace process, to which the Government of the Republic of Mali gives its full and complete support.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Mali for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lesotho. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table to make his statement.

Mr. Mangoaela (Lesotho): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this august body for the month of October and, in that vein, may I also express our appreciation for the able manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, steered the ship that is this Council last month.

Allow me also to convey Lesotho's appreciation for the efforts that the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, through his able Special Representative for Angola, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, and the women and men serving as part of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) continue to make in Angola towards enabling stability and lasting peace to be forged in that sister country. We also wish to express our gratitude for the commendable role played by the troika countries of the Russian Federation, Portugal and the United States of America in facilitating the translation into reality of the common aspirations of the Angolan people for peace, democracy and national reconciliation.

We would be remiss if we did not mention the special role that His Excellency President Chiluba of Zambia has played in facilitating the Angolan peace process, which, as we all know, resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Protocol in 1994.

The Secretary-General's progress report, which is before the Council, sends us mixed signals and casts doubt on UNITA's commitment to the peace process. To us, the Lusaka Protocol remains the only valid structure through which the aspirations of the Angolan people can be realized. Any violation of any of its provisions renders the peace process futile. Thus, the slow progress and apparent stalemate in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is of concern to us. We are pleased to note that the ceasefire that took effect two days after the signing of the Protocol is holding, albeit with some difficulty. Only in a calm environment can sound negotiations take place.

Lesotho wishes to reiterate once again the principle that the Security Council remains the only custodian of international peace and security. No initiative by regional or continental organizations should be construed as relieving the Security Council of its global responsibility. In our statement before the General Assembly, we recently cautioned once again against regional selectivity in the attention paid by our Organization, through the Security Council, to international crisis situations. While we urge the parties to the conflict in Angola to comply

with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, we make a special appeal once again to the international community to provide UNAVEM III with the necessary human, material and financial resources to enable it to carry out its mandate effectively. We again appeal to the donor community to support the peace process in Angola by providing the required support for demobilization and the reintegration of ex-combatants, and by fulfilling pledges made at the 1995 Brussels Round Table Conference on Angola.

The United Nations remains the most important component in the consolidation of the peace process in Angola. As the UNAVEM III mandate comes to an end, and considering UNITA's intransigence, it is incumbent upon the Security Council to adopt, as a matter of urgency, measures within the framework of resolution 864 (1993) that should oblige UNITA fully and urgently to respect the deadlines established by this body.

The summit meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of State and Government in Luanda earlier this month recommended a *modus operandi* and put forward resolutions for consideration by this body. The presence of the distinguished Foreign Ministers from that region in our midst today is clear testimony of the southern African subregion's desire for peace and development. These Ministers made statements this morning calling upon the Security Council to take decisive measures to impress upon Mr. Savimbi and UNITA the seriousness with which the entire international community views the lack of progress in the Angolan peace process. Those statements enjoy the full support of the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho.

The people of Angola have shed their blood for far too long. They deserve nothing less than peace, now and forever.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Lesotho for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be held tomorrow, 11 October 1996.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.